RELIGIONS OF INDIA

S.R. Bakshi
Lipi Mahajan
(Editors)

SHOUT
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IT

The Book

The theme has been knit into fourteen chapters having deep bearing on several religions in the Indian sub-continent. It lays emphasis on Hinduism, its philosophy, the Hindu canon, sacred writings, Hinduism in the Muslim period, Buddhism, its growth and Buddha's method of teaching, Jainism and philosophy of Mahavira, Sikhism, transition from theocracy to monarchy, five symbols, Islam, customs and ceremonies, Parsis and Christianity.

Contents include: Hindu Religion and Philosophy; The Return of Hinduism; Modern Hinduism; Buddhism; Buddha's Work and his Opponents; Jainism; Sikhism; The Five Symbols; Concept of Guru in Sikhism; The Islam; Festivities and Ceremonies; Sects and the Path; The Parsi Religion; The Christianity.

This work would be useful for teachers, scholars and students interested in the study of religions of India. It would also be a welcome addition in foreign universities where students are taught about the development of several religions in our sub-continent.

Rs. 900

RELIGIONS OF INDIA

(ENCYCLOPAEDIC HISTORY OF
INDIAN CULTURE AND RELIGION—3)

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LIPI MAHAJAN

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Preface

This work has deep bearing on the religions of India which proved very effective in affording a new direction to our society. Indeed Hinduism is the oldest in our sub-continent and South-East Asia. Later on, we witnessed the arrival of a few religious reformers and during their life time, they gave new interpretation of human life and society. Thus we find the growth of Buddhism, Jainism, Islam, Parsi, Sikhism, Christianity and others which had impact in our society, in one way or the other.

The theme is covered in fourteen chapters having deep bearing on Hindu religion and philosophy, the return of Hinduism, modern Hinduism, Buddhism, Buddha's work and his opposition, Jainism and the history of the Jain Sects, Sikhism, the well-known five symbols, concept of the *Guru* in Sikhism, the Islam, festivities and ceremonies, sects and the path, the Parsi religion and the Christianity.

We have collected the material from several institutions and these are Indian Council of Historical Research, Sapru House Library, Delhi University Library, Jawaharlal Nehru University Library, Jamia Millia Islamia Library and Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, Teen Murti House, New Delhi. We feel beholden to the members of these institutions for helping us during our researches.

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1

Hindu Religion and Philosophy

THE DAWN OF HINDUISM

We cannot even faintly grasp the spirit and enduringness of Hinduism and its more developed side Brahminism, unless we can take ourselves far back into the mists of time, and watch a great faith evolve, and a simple people develop from

"A fire mist and a planet
A crystal and a cell,
A jelly-fish and a saurian
And the caves where cave men dwell."

From simplicity shall we come to completeness, from completeness to tolerance and fancy, and the strangeness and evil of the hidden and secret cults that grew beneath the Hindu umbrella. And all the while that we watch the branch of the Aryan race that moved from the steppes to the Indus, we shall see subtle minds probing, inquiring, devising, puzzling out into a code, ideas of life and death, of god and devil. We shall see countless theologies expounded through innumerable ages, and through it all, Brahman, the Almighty, the Essences, and the *Atman* developing

from the crudest and earliest conception.

> "Then a sense of love and duty
> and a face turned from the clod
> Some call it Evolution
> and others call it God."

Any brief or lucid definition of Hinduism in the known language of theologians is quite impossible to make, and it can best be followed by tracing the Aryan story, and then shall we come now and again to one of those 'many mansions' of which Jesus spoke.

From the steppes to the Oxus, from the Oxus to the Indus, from the Indus to Mother Ganges, from the Ganges to the forests and regions of the devils and demons of Central India, the same instinct that sent the prows of the Western Aryans ploughing the Western seas, brings the Eastern Aryans to similar domination of the far South of India. Let us see in our mind's eye a simple pastoral white folk with their flocks and their herds coming perhaps two thousand years before Christ, up the valley of Oxus, filling up in what we call Afghan Turkestan, and the Macedonian termed Bactria. Let us imagine their waves lapping round the valleys and hills, and poking their crests into every tract that seemed worthwhile, surging back from the Hindukush, setting up in Balkh that great buttress of the centuries which held back the horde of the Folk of the Almond-eye, which science calls 'the Mongol fold.' Let us watch them slowly passing from pastoral to the agricultural state, and thence by long steps to power and dominion, growing browner in the process, as perhaps fifteen hundred years B.C. they descended from the higher plateau to the Indus, to destroy or absorb a civilization, hardly yet staged in history.

Their faith so far as they had it, was but the desire inborn of man held to be the strongest of all proofs that a divinity exists, to worship the higher powers that obviously are present, for they saw that sun, moon and stars obeyed some rules, and that there was demon in the East Wind that men might well propitiate.

They recognized too that in the temple of the father, lay that strange spark of human life that never dies, and which is itself eternity. From this they built up that faith of the family and

ancestor worship which the foolish West is losing, eventually regarding the father as the family high priest, the same idea that lies in our dying family prayers, and is the subject of a picture of this year's Academy.

The forces of nature therefore they worshipped, as the only conception they were then able to attain to, of the Power behind the Universe.

THE TRIPLE EXPANSION

Gradually the simple conception of the gods became more complicated, and special attributes, favourite and associate animals, were connected in men's minds with each. Gradually too a special clan or tribe succeeded in becoming the recognized priesthood, and assumed the name Brahmin, which was later identified with Brahma the Creator—God. This change covered many hundreds of years, and many changes came over the peoples as they penetrated to the south, during which the joyous life they had known in the uplands became one full of fear, fear of spirits, of demons and of ghosts that were imbibed from the folk they mingled with, ideas of the gloom of brests and the dread disease of climates less salubrious than that of Bactria, and the hill uplands.

As a measure of salvation from the earlier experience of the direct result of miscegenation with the black and *ab original* races of India, the leaders introduced, it is believed, the great law which eventually became 'Caste'. Among the many millions the white race would be lost. By making marriage within the race essential, lay salvation for the white race, whilst outside it would be the outcaste and low-class races, from whom sprang the sixty million untouchables and the caste rules of modern days.

With these changes the gods come and go from fashion, the great *personae* of the Hindu deities as we know them now appear, and the priesthood as the centuries roll on, becomes divided into classes charged with different functions, those who sacrifice, those who sing praises and so forth, a much revered order of ascetic the *Vanaprastha* 'forest dwellers' arise and teach in the forests, somewhere about 1000 B.C. The clearer minds raised questions continually, and devised rules of life and theories to meet the phenomena of the world and of men's

hearts. The different writings begin to appear, recording what has hitherto come down by word of mouth from the priests. The idea of one deity supreme above all men and all powers develops, or at any rate a divine essence diffused throughout the world under the name of Prajapati, and this takes place about the time of Isaiah. Just as in the early days of Christianity, the elders and teachers soon found that a theology and a theory must be developed to explain the new Christian religion and the world, to thinking men, so in somewhat different ways do the Hindu teachers, sages and scholars, continue to devise and correct their earlier conceptions. As in the New testament, and as in the *Qoran*, the writings come later than the teachers. As those who were orally taught pass away, so does the cry come for a record, a record of what the teaching was. The ancient hymns of the priest that were divinely given to the seers become at last written and we have the *Vedas*, the first books or writings of the Hindu canon.

There are certain points that are accepted by the white race as being divinely appointed. 'Caste' as a condition of life, and the sanctity of the divinely appointed priestly race the Brahmins, while Siva and Vishnu, emerge as two great gods, which place the others into the shade. The Brahmin thinkers place them as but representatives of the Creator, as a *persona* of the Deity. But the people, especially now that by the sixth century B.C. the white race has spread so far and acquired domination over the earlier races, affected by the contact therewith, were more ¿ an ever ready to worship many gods. Among the low-caste races, especially in the villages, the gods were, and are, countless, but all recognized by thinkers as but one manifestation of the well-known gods. In the teaching of the inner reconcilization, all gods were recognized and very properly recognized, as the best that the ignorant villager could do to show his reverence and worship to the Almighty. The tend of modern thought also leans that way, *viz.*, to accept that all those who worship a deity are but trying to find the living God.

The educated Aryan minds long recognized this truth, and therefore swept up into a pantheon the gods, which they came to regard as but manifestations in accordance with local wont.

But such a policy also justified the tendency to any form of worship that fancy might dictate, for the god after his custom

merely have appeared and intimated his wishes to certain of his followers. There are numerous parallels to such a conception in other cults and religions. It would not be extravagant to say that the village gods were not far removed from the Christian conception of patron saints, to whom humble folk attribute interventions and even injunctions. It would not be impossible to describe the Hindu pantheon as merely patron saints, and the great gods of the Temple cults only, as God, and that too as a particular *persona* of the supreme deity.

By the sixth century before Christ, the Hindu religion as thus built up was beginning to take its set form, and was getting near to the great set-back of the Protest of Gautama. How the faith was growing will perhaps be seen best by the outline of the Hindu Canon.

It will already be noticed that no mention has yet been made of any moral law. Even the most mystical teachings of the supreme deity do not attribute righteousness thereto. There is no decalogue, though countless codes of custom and of ritual. God is the embodiment of joy, of peace, of rest, but is not connected with righteousness, and there seems to be no declaration that the 'Lord thy god is a just as well as merciful God,' and has laws of conduct for men to observe, as the Semitic teaching understands the words.

THE DOCTRINE OF RE-INCARNATION AND KARMA

With the subtle Aryan minds at work on theological speculation, it was but natural, as has been said, that a definite theory of the universe and its problems of life and death, and all that must hang thereon should be formulated. From the brains of the priesthood as of the philosopher, there evolved the theory of rebirth and transmigration, claimed naturally as revelation . . . a claim held no doubt with reason, on the theory that all great thoughts come from God . . . but claiming to be a divine revelation communicated to a seer.

With transmigration must go to complete the theory, *karma*, men's actions and reactions. Taken together it can only be said that to human minds these two theories do produce the most satisfying explanation, that the world has yet heard of, the phenomenon of life, and the inequality of measure that seems to

be meted out to individuals here on earth. With the theory goes also, or has added itself thereto, the theory of the *Atman*, the world-soul, which a portion has been leased to each living thing that hath life. To everything that is born of a woman or of a feminine of a species there is vouchsafed a portion of the *Atman*. As a life sows so shall it reap. As its *karma*, its actions . . . . by no means always the result of its own volition . . . so its future. The soul of man to-day may be the *Atman* of an animal or plant in another existence. Some souls mount by reason of their good *karma* to higher and higher stages, until at last they are re-absorbed. Others fall lower, and may leave the human race, the age life of a soul may be up and down, like the ball atop the water jet, now up, now down, and in any life works out the penalty of its *karma* in the last. From this arises the theory or rather the hope that it may be possible to escape from this dreary round of lives, from the retributory existences by a short cut, by avoiding *karma*, and thus to attain the eventual absorption in the deity or the eternal world soul. *Karma* is crime, lust, passion, war and evil. Withdraw from the world and you can have no *karma*. A monk's or a hermit's life should let the fatal *karma* lie quiescent.

It is a strange compelling theory, this eternal migration of souls in an 'inner circle', going round and round, getting out at this station or that, being bundled back in the train as you want to get out, the journey going on to the ages, unless you can find the secret way to the lift that will take you to the cool air above.

As soon as we study the story of Buddhism we see the same idea controlling that faith, and *Nirvana* or *Nibbana* the state of 'no more pain' being set as the goal.

THE THEORIES AND PHILOSOPHIES

Transmigration and *karma* were not the only developments in the eighth to the sixth centuries B.C. Taxila, the city at the opening of the beautiful Hazara valley, not far from the modern Rawalpindi, was the chief centre of learning, that Taxila whose ruins are only this day being dug out. It was a period of sacrifices, and the exaltation of the priest who alone could make them effectively. It was now agreed by all the deeper minds that all gods are manifestations of the absolute, but the absolute

being farther away, the worship of the manifest continued. With transmigration and *karma* came also the theory of the ages of the world, the *Mahayuga* with the four *yuga*, the golden, the silver, the bronze and the iron, which come round and round too in eternity. In Brahminic theory Brahman is the *Atman* of the universe, and soon as explained was recognized as identical with the individual *Atman*, the soul of man.

Child marriage and the use of idolic representations of the gods are adopted. All boys of the Brahmin, Kshatriya, and Vaisya classes, the three pure divisions of the white race, attend at Brahminical school. Methods of release from *karmas* are studied, men practise austerities to acquire supernatural powers and gifts, or else renounced the world, becoming *sannyasi* (renouncers) and *bikshus* (beggars) or *paryarajakas* (wanderers).

Six recognized systems of philosophy that are considered orthodox have been evolved and accepted prior to the Buddhist period, and from them and the teachings of Buddha and Mahavira most of the later structures emanate. The systems that are most known at any rate to Western folk are the *Sankya* and *Yoga* systems. No earlier treatise of the first exists, but Patanjali in the second century wrote a manual known as the *Yoga Sutras*. They must all be referred to again when we come to the reconstruction and revival and what may perhaps be called the smothering of Buddhism. The teachers of the revival also belonged to that period. The systems for the most part deal with *karma*, release from the world and sin, and explanations of the phenomena of this world and what is behind the veil.

In this period in which coinage is started and the cities grow, for much the same reasons as they have grown elsewhere, the conquest of the gloomy south continues, with the absorption of its deities and dreads. About 500 B.C. Darius of Persia, also of Aryan blood, turns the north that we now call Afghanistan and the Punjab, into a Persia satrapy. The desire for release from *karma* is now growing in India, and *tapas*, austerity, is being more popularly practised to this end, rather than for the earlier purpose of acquiring power over the forces of nature. *Tapas* means monasteries and hermit cells, where men may meditate in peace. But by now two great kingdoms have arisen which war one with another. Complicated too are growing the theories and teachings of life, the systems of the philosophers and the com-

mentators thereon. Then there comes, several centuries before Christ, suddenly as a flash to the minds of those in trouble, the 'great discovery', the real sense of a supreme God with whom men may be in communion. Brahman, or Bhagaran is joy, all powerful, and incomprehensible, but attainable. A later phrase sums up the new teaching. *Sachchidanand Brahman*. 'Brahman is truth and knowledge.' This teaching emanates in glory from the *Upanishads*. As this teaching and its *Bhakti* emanation are those on which the fervent upholders of Brahmin thought seek to justify themselves and their scriptures in the face of Christian claims, it is better studied under the heading of modern Hinduism.

But while this great conception was dawning swiftly on the minds of thinkers, what of the Aryan world at large, and the millions they had absorbed and were absorbing?

The answer is something as follows. To them the earlier conceptions of worship and the gods gradually developed into the expansion of two of the earlier lesser deities, into two great *personae* of the Godhead, Vishnu and Siva, almost antagonistical in the eyes of their followers, representations nevertheless that a simple man could take joy in. But before glancing at the development of Siva and Vishnu as the worship of the millions, it will be well to see the Hindu canon as such evolving.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE HINDU CANON

We may best skim lightly over the ages which saw the evolution of a theology the most complicated and abtruse that the world has seen, by following a brief description of the religious and epic Hindu writings of antiquity. First in order come the *Vedas*, the ancient hymns composed by the early priests, and for many centuries handed by world of mouth and memory only. *Veda* means 'knowledge.'

The Veda consists of four books, and the oldest is the *Rigveda* (*Ric*=verse), and for the sake of comparison may be termed the book of psalms. From this the other *Vedas* gradually have been sorted out and compiled into various groups of hymns suitable for special ceremonies and occasions, much as would be the case in a modern hymn book. The three divided *Vedas* are, the *Samavedas* for the second order of priests the

'praise singers', the *Yajurvedas* consisting of *Vedas* containing the sacrificial verses and rules for those working the services known as the 'forest' rituals. Later the *Yajurvedas* were separated into two, 'Black' and 'White,' the former containing the sacrificial verses only, the latter the whole text. These make up the three *Vedas*. The *Rigveda*, whence the others derive, is deemed a 'revealed scripture' being communicated by the particular *rishi* or 'seer' who originally received them from divine source. It will be seen that the mere allegation that they were divinely inspired or revealed, carries with it the idea gradually forming in the minds of the priestly theologians, *viz.* that behind all the conceptions of the Gods there must be a 'God Almighty' behind them all, from whom at least they derived power.

In studying all the ancient faiths it is necessary to realize that 'God' or 'God Almighty' and 'the gods' are very different things. In ancient Babylonia when the forces of nature became the tyrants or the aiders of the people, the old impression of God Almighty seems to have been clearly maintained among the cultured higher priesthood. It has been held that the great priestly college at Ur of the Chaldees, an institution of immense antiquity, at which Jepthro, the Chaldean priest who was Moses's father-in-law must have been educated, knew well the conception of the Almighty of the Patriarchs. It is most probable that Abraham himself was a student there, and learnt the same . . . the knowledge too choice for the uncultured folk, but never forgotten among the initiated.

It is even thought that Moses himself, in the years he spent with the Bedouin on the desert with his father-in-law, must have visited Ur, and learned as he was, in all the priestly law of Egypt, have sat at the feet of the priest of Ur. From there he may well have learnt the old name of God Almighty, which they called '*Eah Huch*,' and from that produced the new ineffable name, the *Shem Hamephorash* that was the old name, Jah Weh, the Word of Power, that men call the Tetragrammaton.

Further, to touch in brief on so immense a subject, the gods of all the creeds, Egyptian and Roman, Greek and Hindu, are but the same, the forces of nature whom the people dreaded and propitiated, quite apart from the great I am behind all the universe of whom all faiths had some dim ken. It has even been said that Nimrod the 'mighty hunter before the Lord' was

Diuspiter, 'The Father of the Gods,' and a founder of a mighty empire, of which the story is lost. Further to his sons he gave dominion, and they have become under various names 'the gods' of all the faiths of the countries over which they ruled.

We see the same in the strange faith of the 150,000 'Devil Worshippers,' the Yezidis of the Jebel Sinjar in Iraq, who only worship *Malik Taous*, 'Prince Peacock' the Evil One, because the Almighty has handed the world to him for the current millenium, and who while *Malik Taous* reigns, will not help mankind.

So while ancient Chaldea dealt with the gods whom they knew rather than the Almighty far away, on the other hand the Aryan priests began to realize and teach that behind all was a Supreme Power, Brahm or Brahman, of whom the lesser gods were emanations and derivatives.

The *Rigvedas* appear to have taken form from the *rishis* perhaps 1300 years before Christ, about the time that Moses led Israel from Egypt, and to have been completed and the other *Vedas* compiled about the year 1000 B.C. when David was King in Israel.

Next in age comes the sacred writings the *Brahmanas*, which are comments and explanations on the *Vedas* by the various priestly schools studying and developing them. These would have appeared about the middle of the ninth century B.C., when the Illiad was being written and Elijah lived in Israel. A hundred years later in the parallel of Isaiah was composed or collected a fourth *Veda*, the *Atharva Veda*, embodying or giving credence to the more popular superstitions, and enumerating charms and spells to bring weal or woe. The *Brahmanas* are a dreary literature, but have some historical value as giving light on the Aryan development and movements.

Several centuries were yet to pass before the Hindu Canon was to be completed by a very different sort of writing, the *Upanishads*, which teach of the joy of being one with God, and of achieving salvation. This higher thought was developing through many conflicting teachers and many priestly schools between the years 700 and 500 B.C. The parallelism in other countries gives us Zoroaster in Iran, among the other Aryan Eastern folk, Jeremiah amid the Semites and Pythagoras in Javan.

In the many priestly schools throughout the land, as has been said, many codes known as *Dharmashastra* had been evolved. Most notable is the one known as the *Manava Dharmashastra*, the Law Book or Code of Manu brought to its present form about A.D. 200. It is something similar to Deuteronomy, in that it contains countless rules of life, many of them of purely sanitary or economic intent, which were made thrice enforcible by religious precept. How many sanitary inspectors would rejoice if sanitary rules governing diet and conduct, had the driving force of religious inhibition held by a people who feared to break those rules!

Such writings as these, together with the later *Puranas* or the chronicles of the old things aforesaid, explaining and extolling the ancient gods and their systems, are not part of the 'Canon' but are writings 'about it' and as such are widely read and revered.

Famous among the ancient writings are the two great historical epics, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*. The former is a poem that attains the immense length of 100,000 verses, some eight times the length of the poems of Homer. It probably reached its present stage about A.D. 400. The sacred and epic hymns and books seem to have been actually committed into writing about the second and first centuries B.C. During the first few centuries of the Christian Era the real and early *Mahabharata*, the epic history of wars and conquests, has been increased to four or five times the original length by the addition of instructional and other matter, and is now a mass of Brahminical injunctions. Its records are still immensely popular, and have really come in their plethora of legend and story from the heart of the people, who love the stories of god and hero which make the foundation, while the *Ramayana* which is 'the Adventures of Rama' is equally beloved. Krishna in the *Mahabharata* and Rama in the *Ramayana* begin as human heroes and eventually are accepted as gods, and both more and more important as thought and speculation on their personalities increase. Krishna the sportive romp becomes the god of joy and happiness, while Rama becomes, and is recognized With Krishna, as an incarnation of Vishnu. Both the books in spite of the accretions of the ages have many invaluable and unexplored historical secrets for

those who may make critical research and study.*

The development of heroes into recognition by humans as gods, and as incarnations of a *persona* of deity, an incarnation they may not themselves have been aware of, is a feature which repeats itself through the ages of the development of Aryan theology, and in this latter connection might be compared with the theory of the writer of 'Ecce Homo.'

In considering this matter of the Brahminical and Hindu Canon the strange phenomenon of the great gap in continuity in Hinduism should be realized, unparalleled in religious history, owing to the rise of the teachings of Mahavira the Jinna, and Gautama the Buddha, already alluded to. The complete eclipse of Brahminism and Hinduism for several centuries and its eventual return strengthened by these experiences, will be told later. The gap lasted centuries, from roughly 500 B.C. to A.D. 500.

THE HINDU CANON ITSELF

The writings which compose the *Sruti*, or canon, as distinct from the *Smriti*, or tradition, are as follows:

The *Vedas viz.*, the *Rig*, the *Saman*, the Yajur (Black and White), and the *Atharvan*.
The *Brahmanas* (the teachings and commentaries of the Priesty Schools on the *Vedas* (for the Priests).
The *Aryanyakas* (for the Forest Hermits).
The *Upanishads* (for the laity who seek salvation and happiness).

Thus they are rather like the Old Testament, divided into the Law, the Prophess and the Hagiographa, which include a good deal of history.

Close to the Canon, but not of it, are the *Sutras*, brief concise codes and sermons for the use of the priests and students, summing up for easy committal to memory, and for complete repetition, the principles contained in the rambling books of the

---

* Writing in script did not apparently come into use till the second or third century B.C. As explained elsewhere the probably more accurate 'word of mouth' preserved the *Vedas* etc. for a long period.

Cannon. The *Bhagavad-gita* Hymn of Adoration, greatly revered, was written in the earlier centuries A.D.

THE TEXTS AND LANGUAGE OF THE SACRED WRITINGS

A bowing acquaintance with the languages of India is helpful to those who would follow the religious systems. The Aryan language, that of the white peoples who from somewhere near the Caucasus or the Sea of Aral, set forth on the three eccentric world paths, as all the world knows, has formed the basis of the languages of Europe, of India and of Persia. That of the Aryans who entered India naturally developed with the growth and advancement of the people. When the *Vedas* were first committed to writing, the language in which they were written was immediately made static. It had become, as in the case of other such writings in other languages, a classic, its grammar being recorded by Panini of Taxila before the year 300 B.C. The spoken languages went on developing with the passage of time, but this remained, and as it was the educated language of the period it became known as the 'Sanskrit', the 'polished language' and reached its highest stage of development about 500 B.C.

The Aryan language went on developing or deteriorating in various parts of India, and was known as the '*Prakrit*.'

But other religious writings, such as those of the Buddhist Canon and many teachers, were written at various later dates in the vernacular. As soon as a book was written that language in which it was written became recognized, recorded, stereotyped language. From these Aryan languages, derived from that tongue of which the Sanskrit was the Indian variety, come the recognized tongues of Indians. These are Bengali, the language of over fifty millions Marathi, that of nineteen millions, Assamese, Oorya, Punjabi and the like. One of the Northern *Prakrits* only preserved in Burma, Siam and Ceylon, in which the famous Buddhist Canon, the *Tripitaka* or Triple Basket was written, is known as the *Pali*. *Pali*, however, only means 'the text,' and it is not certain which of the *Prakrits Pali* really is.

The dates of the scripts in which the records come to us is a matter of many lesser controversies, and there is room for many theories. The climate of India is against the preservation of

manuscripts and thirteenth century documents are rare. That astounding preservation of documents, over five thousand years old, in baked clay, which is the feature of the past in the dry Mesopotamian climate, had no counterpart in India, unless the excavations in the Indus valley are going to open up entirely new light on the matter. In India writing had developed sufficiently for Panini to record his grammar, which was written not later than the fourth century. But the 'Rock Edicts' of the Emperor Asoka, in a script derived apparently from some Semite source, are the earlier records in India. In the whole of the Vedic literature there is no evidence of a known alphabet. Even till well on in Buddhist times record was oral and handed down by word of mouth, and it has been said that this is a better guarantee of accuracy than the repeated copying of manuscripts, with their inaccuracies and glosses. The recorded text of one of the ancient writings at the time of first writing down, is likely to be more accurate than a written text purporting to be of the same early date as the oral traditions themselves, but preserved by means of copyists. The Asoka Edicts are of course an entirely different matter, and here again we may reflect on the advantages which the students of ancient Babylonia have in their original baked clay scripts . . . some nearly twice as old as Ashoka's carving.

VISHNU AND SIVA

While the Brahmin thinkers were evolving their doctrine of Brahman, the Lord of all, the great mass of the people were following their many manifestations, their village and family gods, and all and any form and conception that might seem to them, to remind them best of the great power of the world. Far and wide were the Brahminic and other schools, and countless associations of monks, renouncers, wanderers and the like, under vows, and free from vows. During the centuries some deities had fallen into disrepute, and others grown popular. In fact it is not stretching the matter too far to say that the conception and name of the deity changed as the peoples aged and the races blended. Out of it all came two main conceptions, which must be viewed in the light of the Brahmin contention that all roads lead to Brahman.

The great god Rudra, long worshipped as the Lord of fear

and hard things, gradually receives the euphuistic title of Siva, 'the auspicious', and becomes the essence of austerity and devotion to duty, and every idea that can be tacked on to such conception. The gods who deal with the humanities of life gradually merge into the great and kindly Vishnu. Gradually the masses of the people tend towards one group of thought or the other. Deities, analogous in their guardianships, become forms and incarnations of Vishnu or Siva. The people are either Sivites or Vishnuvites and temples, priests, schools, orders, monasteries and fraternities are all different in each worship. The religions are entirely separate and times fiercely sectarian and antagonistic. Only can they both be classed as Hindu under the definition that Hinduism is what Hindu do, and in the mind of the Brahmin theologians that all Gods are but person of the great Deity, whom it pleases the people to worship.

Shiva or Siva is known and worshipped as Mahadeo, the 'Great God', Hindus are Sivite or Vishnuvite almost as folk in England are Liberal or Conservatives in outlook, Within both folds are many noble activities. Curious however is another development of thought. Each of the two great gods and all the lesser representations and emanations of them have their *sakti* or female side, which really represents the same ideas and attributes from, to use a modern shibboleth, 'a woman's point of view'. But as so many of the Indian peoples are sensuous and erotic by nature, so does the worship of the *Saktis* take many strange and erotic forms, and hidden cults, in which worship and eroticism rampant are encouraged to mingle. 'Left-handed' and Tantric Saktism are however side cults requiring when developed to excess, a very persuasive argument to justify the claim that its doings are but allegory.

The popular temples of the 'Great God' each contain the sacred emblem, The *Linga*, in polished black basalt in weathered limestone of the male organ of generation erect and triumphant. In allegory what more striking emblem to represent the creator and eternity! To those who are childless and pray for the blessing of issue, what more potent representation of power to anoint and pray to it. Yet in the lesser vehicle of sensuous human nature what unseemly depths may be reached! To this day in every temple of Mahadeo, the lord of life and death, stands this emblem, every present, in red-washed mud under every village

shrine and holy well.

I am the God of the sensuous fire
that moulds all nature in forms divine
the symbols of death and of man's desire,
I am death trod under a fair girl's feet.

And that the twain shall be one, with this worship of life and fecundity, comes also the *Yoni*, the emblem of the female organ, and the inner sign of one surrounded by nine, which must be dealt with more fully under the cults that spring from such broad conceptions.

THE EVOLVED SYSTEM

When these years of evolution and the absorption of strange cults, and ideas, briefly outlined herein, had passed, and the sacred book had been completed and the classical language built up, there stood at the beginning of the sixth century B.C. the dual system which is known as Brahminism in its higher thoughts, and cults, and Hinduism in its more popular ones. And it brings us to the question once again what is a Hindu? Hinduism is not the Hindu's term for themselves, either in ancient and modern times. In fact it is still as difficult as it was a chapter back to describe Hinduism, and the best description perhaps is that Hinduism is 'what a Hindu does'. It is conformity to the practices of those who are Hindus. To a Hindu his religion is *dharma*, which, as MacDonell says, includes established order, usage, institutions, custom, perception, right, duty, moral merit, good works and rights.

When Brahminism and Hinduism thus stand forth full-fledged, they together represent the faith which may also be described as the racial religion of all the white race in India and those who have become joined to it in some sort of religious and political conjunction. In presents theories of great beauty for the philosopher and mystic, supplemented for the *"oi polloi"*, those who do the daily work of the world, by a pleasant rollicking religion, under the kindly auspices of Vishnu, or the austerer and more audacious shield of Siva. These cults are equipped with side-shows galore, which yet are within the fold, for all who are outside the normal, with also great lifting up of hands

by wives and priests for those too busy to attend to such matters themselves.

The tenets of the essential Brahminism and Hinduism at this period of elaboration, before the great downfall, have been summed up as much as follows, *viz.* a theory of God and the world, presenting:

(i) One impersonal God who alone is real, and a pantheon of manifestations thereof to suit all tastes.

(ii) A conception of the world an unreal phenomenon, with *karma* and transmigration as the basic theory of life, and release the desired goal.

Giving effect to the above is the organization such as it is, and was, controlled and based on:

> 'The inspired writings of the *Vedas*, the priestly race divinely ordained, the holy rules of caste'.

It is still to be noticed that though the idea of Brahman is secure in the thinker's minds as the lord of all with whom union is attainable, yet is Brahman not connected with holiness and righteousness, and for that reason has it been remarked that the teachings of the Brahman priests and philosophers differ in the first essential with the teaching of the prophets or seers of the Hebrews concerning the God of Israel. The absense of any central body to rule the Brahmin or Hindu faith and all the organization that springs therefrom, will be commented on when the revival is dealt with, the revival that was to take place after the many centuries during which Brahminism and Hinduism sojourned in the wilderness of oblivion and beglect which was now to begin.

2

The Return of Hinduism

THE GUPTA DYNASTY AND THE TARTAR

It is not possible to separate religion from temporal history, when dynasties are falling to invaders, and new races arrive that tear every structure to pieces, and to follow that final collapse of Buddhism and the re-birth of popular Hinduism, we must listen to the clanging of arms and see the web of politics.

Kanishka the great Kushan Emperor died in A.D. 150 and was succeeded by his son Huvishka, who seems to have had equal respect for the gods of many religions. But the days of the Tartar dynasty were numbered, and by the middle of the third century the Kingdom of Magadha was once more rising to power and dominion, under another Chandra Gupta, the petty prince of what was once the famous dynasty. His conquests were so extensive over other kings and princes that he assumed the title of "King of Kings" in 320. He was himself a Hindu and paid great respect to Brahmins though not unfriendly to the Buddhists.

His descendants were even greater monarches, and in 375 his grandson Chandra Gupta II came to the throne, still further extended the Gupta dominions, and the old peace of the Buddhist era was gone. Nevertheless Chandra Gupta II, who had assumed the title *Vikramaditya* ("Sun of Victory"), gave the country forty prosperous years, and did not interfere with the

Buddhists enjoying that autumn of their prosperity which Fa Hian saw. The Gupta Empire indeed now fell little short of Asoka's in extent and in prestige. Kumara Gupta succeeded to Chandra Gupta in 413, but during his reign fresh combinations and groups of Tartar barbarians commenced the inroads of the Kushan type again. Shanda Gupta ascended his father's throne to find himself involved in a long and costly struggle, which he conducted gallantly enough, gaining in 470 a victory over them, which gave peace for several years. When he died in 480 his exhausted empire fell apart. The Guptas were all zealous Hindus and during the generations of their power Hinduism, and Brahmin influence, grew to be the popular and fashionable religion.

THE COMING OF THE HUNS

In the beginning of the sixth century the Tartar scourge came again. Defeated in Europe at the decisive battle on the Marne, they recoiled into Central Asia, whence they broke South into India under Toraman, sweeping through the country with terrible force and outrage, destroying many a Buddhist monastery and stupa. In 510 Toraman was succeeded by his son Mihiragula, whose reputation for cruelty and excesses exceeded that of any of his forbears. Happily a combination of Hindu chiefs and princes gained a victory that gave rest for many years, though Mihiragula himself succeeded in ousting the ruler of Kashmir, and starting a fierce persecution of Buddhists, styling himself a follower of Siva. Happily he died shortly, and power seems to have fallen into the hands of a Hindu king Vasodharma, who in finally expelling the Huns has become a somewhat mythical national hero, to whom also the title of *Vikramaditya* was given. Series of Hindu kings and quarrels supervened, and eventually at the beginning of the seventh century Hindu Harsha founds what is practically an Empire of the North. This brings us to the time, already referred to, of the Chinese pilgrim Houen Chang. It was the effect of the Hun invasion a hundred years earlier, from which Buddhism never really relied that produced the decadent state of affairs which the pilgrim recorded. Nevertheless, as Houen Chang relates, he found many wealthy kingdoms established notably in Malwa

and Gujarat. From the driving out of the Huns, to the coming of Islam from the north in the middle of the eleventh century India had rest from invaders though hardly from herself. Since the days of the Gupta, the Hindu revival had been daily gaining power and weight, and Hinduism was now to a considerable extent, the national religion once again, and a dynasty founded by Harsha of Kannauj now gained the principal place. Before we glance at the reconstruction, there is one more historic incident connected with Buddhism worthy of note. Harsha died about the year 648, after a prosperous reign of fifty years. A man of learning and piety, he had surrounded his court with the learned and gifted. But endowing Hinduism largely, he left an empty state coffer behind him, a sure pointer to discord. His Minister, Arjuna, a keen supporter of Brahminism and an active enemy to Buddhists, Usurped the throne. Soon after his accession, a companion of Houen Chang, Wang Houen Tse by name, arrived in India. Arjuna seized all he could find of the mission and put them to death. Wang Houen Tse escaped to Nepal. The rulers of Nepal and Tibet, both Buddhists, hastened to avenge the unforgiveable injury. A small force of mountaineers invaded India and defeated in Tirhoot a large Hindu force under Arjuna, who was himself captured and led away to China, never to be heard of again. Wang Houen Tse later led another mission, whose reception was all that could be desired. With this well accredited incident the curtain drops on Indian affairs, and remains down for close on two hundred years, during which apparently the Hindu States of India fought together and evolved a working situation, uncoordinated by any great empire builder or world-stormer from within or without.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF HINDUISM

The problem before the Brahmin hierarchy of maintaining their hold, and of the reconstruction of Brahminical and popular Hinduism must have been a remarkable one. It is of course necessary to realize the very long periods of years over which brief accounts skip with apparent simplicity. From the birth of Buddha to the death of Harsha is a period of twelve hundred years, a period as long as that from the end of the heptarchy in England to the present day. When Buddhism was at its zenith in

India, which was not till perhaps five hundred years after its founder's birth, if not more, Brahminism must have been at a low ebb. Numerous Brahmins and almost all Hindus must have embraced the new faith. Buddhism nominally at least, abjured caste. It is however to be presumed that the caste instinct remained as, in more modern times, it remains illogically among Muslims and Sikhs, and that it was retained as a social institution, in the same sense as to this day marrying out of one's social grade is a shock to many people in Western lands. But nevertheless countless folk must have lost all caste barriers, although the power of the Brahmin to keep his identity even under persecution is remarkable, and we have an instance of this in Kashmir. There are no Hindus now indigenous to Kashmir, once a centre of Hindu learning, save the Brahmins. Here although the ordinary folk were converted to Islam many a century ago, the Brahmins or at any rate a strong nucleus of them surviving preserve all Brahminic thought, even in the days when they must have been comparatively isolated from their own world. However it came about, the old castes were regrouped, assuming once more religious form and sanction, over what had remained for centuries social tradition. The high twice-born castes re-took their historical place tempered by expediency. Many non-Aryan tribes were admitted into the caste system, all weighed, graded and placed by a mixture of priestly craft and moral worth, and political consideration, tempered by public opinion. Very many *ab original* or Dravidian people in touch with civilization now came into such of the caste system as was open for them, the lower and contemptible position below the Aryan line being theirs, but satisfying in that there were many placed far lower. As the fashion grew to be Hindu instead of Buddhist, so a Hindu status was sought after, no matter how humble so long as it was recognized, and gave admission to the temple services and the ornate public festivals of the seasons, and the like, which were now becoming the prominent feature of the new Hinduism. The Brahmins had acquired much wisdom and cunning in watching the ways of the people through the ages.

While the adoration and salvation ideas that brought release, were as much treasured in high caste circles as in the old days, the cults for the people followed, but with greater enthusiasm, the old worship of the kindly Vishnu or the more

determined Siva. To the followers of each cult, Vishnu or Siva was the supreme gold, the adorable deity, in other words, to the theologian, the *persona* of Brahman that seemed to the worshipper to suit his outlook on life. Among the thinkers the effort was made to introduce as doctrine the conception of the *Trimurti,* a Trinity of Brahma the Supreme, and the more accessible *persona* of Siva and Vishnu. Carved presentiments of dignity and beauty of the *Trimurti* appeared, and though this conception may be said to remain as a satisfying solution of the oneness of the supreme deity, it does not appear to have been much dwelt on, in any form of worship or philosophy. By tacit consent it remains behind all Hindu conception, since the latter, as already explained, accepts any God who may be popular, as the Deity conceived by any particular point of view. All see the Supreme Being through a glass darkly, or according to the lights that nature has given.

Working on these lines the great framework regrew, and gradually filled in its detail, which varied north, south, east and west. From the defeat of the Huns to the coming of Islam, as has been said, India's outer history is comparatively uneventful, and all the mass of foreign settlors left in the wake of Menanders, Kanishkas, Toramans and Mihiragulas, had to be re-absorbed into the warp and weft of the land. Since Hinduism was the political power, and Hinduism the only religion now left for all who would be in the swim, they too were taken *en bloc* into the caste machine, though how long it may have taken no one can tell us. The terrible system of untouchability also rose again (p. 89). Buddhism still remained in pockets, but its beautiful temples were mostly pulled down, used for other purposes, or left in ruins, though happily, at Boudh Gaya and Sanchi, the remains still show for us the beauty and glory of human thought in that age.

THE TEACHERS OF THE RECONSTRUCTION

During this period of reconstruction from A.D. 600 to 1200, apart from the welter of schools and interpretations which came to no lasting fame, there stand out certain great and famous teachers, and many books in Sanskrit, explaining and interpreting the ancient writings and amplifying the *Vedas.* During

the period also developed the conception of the female side or wife of the deity, and the idea grew that the god was unapproachable, but that the *Sakti* or female side brought mankind in touch with the deity, an idea that of course underlies Mariolatry in Christian thought. It was now that the *Saktas*, the worshippers of Kali grew to such importance especially in Bengal, and formed the right-handed and left-handed *Saktas* referred to. As has been said, the cult of the left-handed Saktas is most immoral, as well as largely concealed, and more will be said of it later. Both the *Sakta* groups have borrowed much from *ab original* practices and influence. The services of Vishnu, Siva and Kali, the wife of Siva, now demanded rituals and these were duly developed, those for Vishnu *Pancharatra Samhitas*, for Siva the *Saiva Agamas*, while all the sakta rituals were *Tantras*. A University even at Vikramasila on the Ganges developed this latter strange form of adoration.

The old Six Hindu philosophies were revived, but only two had any popularity, *viz.*: the *Karma Mimansa* and the *Vedanta*.

The famous teachers were known as *acharyas*, and taught all over the land. Kumarilla was the famous exponent of the *Karma Mimansa* the 'work enquiry', who flourished as early as 700, and then there appeared the famous Sankara whose fame is greatest from his commentaries on the Vedanta Sutra, the Sermons from the *Vedas*, the *Bhagabvadgita* and the *Upanishads*, he taught that nothing is real save Brahman, and that the soul of man is identical with the eternal spirit. The world is *maya*, 'illusion'. Sankara also taught the doctrine of the *Trimurti* the Hindu triad and that Brahma, Vishnu and Siva are but the manifestations of a great supremacy Brahm and Brahman. Up and down the land he went, preaching his teaching, opposing the countless sects that thought otherwise, and founding many monasteries for the encouragement of learning.

But the Sankara teaching did not square with those who preached Vishnu and Siva as the living cheerful gods that made life for a man worth living, and it was several centuries before the great man that they looked for appeared. Down in southern India there had been twelve poets who preached a popular Vishnuvism, drawn from the old *Puranas*, which taught of merry Krishna the lord of the milk-maids as well as more serious things. Written in Tamil, they were beloved of the southern

people, and are often called the Tamil *Vedas*. In the same period some exquisite Tamil hymns were written of adoration to Siva, known as the 'Divine Garland' and 'The Sacred Utterance', both in use to this day in the Sivite temples. In north India appeared the *Bhagavata Purana*, which was in praise of Krishna now coming to be regarded as an incarnation of Vishnu, later, about 1100 came the *Gita Govinda*, also of Krishna, who incidentally has a famous cowherd mistress Radha, which is in full erotic strain, and which, like *Le Cantique des Cantiques*, can only by the greatest imagination be regarded as allegorical. Several attempts to denounce caste were made, but nearly all after a flourishing generation or so, could not resist the cast urge so inherent in the Aryan complex. At Kalyan a Mahratha statesman founded a democratic sect to worship Siva, with a turn also towards Vishnu, devoid of all flummery, and in opposition to Brahmin domination. This sect remains to-day, and are known as *Lingayats* because a model of the male organ or *linga* is always carried on the person, as a reminder of the Creator, 'Remember now thy creator in the days of they youth'.

RAMANUJA AND NILAKANTHA

Mention has been made of the long period that was to pass before any teacher arose who would refute the cold metaphysical teaching of Sankara, and teach as in the old time before that Vishnu meant the joy of life to all and sundry. But roundabout the year 1100 comes Ramanuja, head of the poets who sang of Vishnu and high priest of all Vishnuvites of the south. His commentary on the *Vedanta* is very different in spirit to that of Sankara. Vishnu is the great supremacy in accessible form. Man's spirit is a portion of God, but even in final union maintains its own individuality. The doctrine of incarnation is very definitely taught. But although Ramanuja as a twice-born man could only speak the revelation faithfully to twice-born, that is to say, high-caste men, nevertheless, he took a kindly and sympathetic line with the outcast. Some, he even admitted to temples, and he taught them the doctrine of Vishnu as he understood it, leaving it to them to gain such content as they might by imitating the worship of the caste men. What he thought it might avail them, outside an improvement in the joy

of living, history does not apparently say. But the teachers before and after Ramanuja all taught *Bhakti, viz.*, that through adoration of Vishnu or Siva, mankind who were in caste, might attain salvation. And the joyous teaching and hymns of Ramanuja are in force to this day.

After him we see a somewhat attractive argument. His following fell apart into two schools, in the north called *Vada-galai* in the south *Ten-galai*. The northern school held that divine grace was 'co-operative', that is to say, that man must bear his share. The southern school say that it is 'irresistible', and falls on a man, a passively involuntary resignation like the Grace of God that passeth all understanding. Both schools accept the *Bhakti* doctrine of faith, love, adoration. The clever Brahmin theologians have styled the northern teaching the 'Monkey' school, since the monkey clings to its mother, and the southern the 'Cat' school, where the mother does all the carrying.

The Sivite school has somewhat different theology. Its prominent *acharya*, Nilakantha who has formed the real Sivite doctrine, taught that Siva is identical with Brahmin, and is a personal god but that the human soul is distinct. The incarnation of Siva is not accepted, but Siva appears in many forms to his worshippers.

It is interesting to note that these teachers seem to keep their doctrines for the inner ring of the learned and devout, for they took in all the temples services of the humble and merry, worshipping the many gods, no doubt because all gods but represented the one, and because they knew that the people must be kept content and interested in performing their allotted tasks in life. And who would have it otherwise? But as one studies all these tangled and conflicting theories of life and death and the Almighty, one can but wish that some Gibbon had written for us the 'Rise and Fall and Re-Birth of Hinduism.

HINDUISM IN THE MUSLIM PERIOD

Between the years 1100 and 1200 came the sweep of the Muslim invasions through the hills of Afghanistan. The Muslim came as fierce Crusaders, or rather '*Cres-centers*', urged by a wild desire to compel all men to Islam and to destroy all idols and idol worshippers. Buddhism which still lingered disappeared,

and Hinduism was seriously checked in all development. Only in the south of the 'Deccan', did one Hindu kingdom, Vijayanagar, survive the swamping by the billows from the north which rising itself in the fourteenth century stood to the storm for over two hundred years. Thousands of Hindu temples were destroyed, monks and priests were slaughtered and hundreds of thousands of Hindus slain. Nevertheless, under the heel of oppression, Hinduism and Brahminism but pushed their roots deeper into the soil, even if the outer growth was stunted and many followers left them. But the *Bhakti* cults grew, and most of the teachers impressed on their learners that the God of their fancy, Vishnu, Siva or Brahman was to be adored, not for favours to be received, but because as God, he must of necessity, be adored by his followers.

The two religious movements fell into groups, that of Rama the popular hero of the *Ramayana* now recognized as an incarnation of Vishnu, that of the equally popular Krishna also now considered to an incarnation, while a new group was evolved from the astounding and admirable deistic teaching of Kabir, whose followers were and are known as *Kabir-punthis*. The chief teacher of the cult of Rama was Ramananda a follower of Ramanuja's church in the south who broke away and came to the north, while following Ramananda was the popular and well-known Tulsi Das who flourished about the time of Akbar at the end of our Tudor days. To this day Tulsi Das is the favourite guide and teacher for Hindus of the north, with his famous work, *The Lake of the Deeds of Rama*, in which *Bhakti* teaching predominates. Both the cults of Vishnu and Siva in their latest form were open to the lesser as well as the three twice-born castes, but caste itself remained as it still does.

The famous Kabir was a follower of Ramananda, but he developed a teaching that was practically a religion of his own. He wrote fierce polemics against caste, and condemned idolatry. His followers were both Hindu and Muslim, though the former were almost all low caste. Incarnation also he strictly denied, though the *Kabir-punthis* insisted in regarding their leader as an incarnation himself. His teaching was pure deism, and eventually it threw forth its far more sturdy child Sikhism. Yet Kabir was a leader and character of great charm and sweetness to be admired by all men and creeds.

THE RESULT OF THE RECONSTRUCTION

The Hinduism as reconstructed up to the coming of the Muslim conquerors and developed under the stunted conditions that prevailed, is very much the Hinduism of modern times, except in those small circles where Westernism has entirely altered the outlook. It had then and has now, two great branches, that as held by the twice-born, and that as held by and permitted to, the folks of the low castes, and catered for, and may briefly be reviewed as follows.

At the head of all is the philosophy and beliefs of the Brahmins in Brahman and the one God Almighty under several aspects. Secondly come much as before, the two great divisions into the followers of Vishnu, and of Siva, the former usually in the form of Rama and Krishna, the high caste in both cases believing in *Bhakti*, adoration of and salvation through the deity. In each case we find the mass of the people and all the humbler castes worshipping, more and more flamboyantly as you go lower, the two greater and countless lesser deities, whom scholars explain as but conventions of Vishnu or Siva, or else demons and spirits to be placated. In the south amid the lower castes of Dravidian race, the worship gets more and more savage and fiercely primitive, and is nearly always tinged with greater or less eroticism.

Among the educated, many schools and variations of belief prevailed, ahead of the popular beliefs. As through the ages, the Brahmins were revered as super-saintly beings, whether priestly or otherwise, and on all occasions of rejoicing the feeding of a large number of Brahmins was regarded as a sacred duty.

Yet throughout all the growth of thought and custom neither Brahminism nor Hinduism had never produced any central authority, no creed and no law of good and evil. Hinduism embraced a thousand different Hinduisms, only held together by the conforming to established custom as regards the sanctity of the family, the sacredness of the Brahmin, intense reverence for the cow, and observance of the old rules and customs regarding food and marriage.

Yet for all this, among people of ordinary status the system produced a working rule of life, in which the 'original' good is more pronounced than 'original' sin. All around as now, the

good people of the country side, when unmolested by Mughal and Maratha, carried out their daily avocations, in a simple life that had many admirable sides. The priest in his temple and the wife before her household shrine carry out that duty of uplifting of hands for those who are otherwise engaged. Village life and the quiet by-lanes of the city saw a happy kindly life in progress. Nevertheless Hinduism did and has done nothing to protect its adherents, especially those of *ab original* origin and humble status, from the intense dread of spirits, ghosts and demons, which in many ways made life intolerable, and gave many opportunities to the unworthy and mercenary priest.

The gravamen of the ancient charge against Hinduism, however, lies in those years, as Miss Mayo lays it still, if in less degree, to barbarous and ruthless rules of life and customs, or to customs, the mishandling of which, as in child-marriage, arouses no indignation. Also lies the charge that the priesthood have often cruelly and brutally borne such a share as is more redolent of the groves of Astaroth, or the sacrifices of children to Moshesh, than to the ceremonies of the most intellectual people in the world.

As has been said, no evil and abnormal practice so long as a Hindu conforms, is too evil to condemn. It is probable that a man might introduce and initiate a following to seances of the wildest and unimaginable bestiality, which the Hindu world would accept as the result of a god appearing and so ordering.

The inhuman and difficult customs, the side shows and the erotic cults deserve an insulated chapter to themselves.

THE TEMPLES

To Vishnu and to Siva beautiful, ornate, luscious and indecent temples, were erected by the pious, varying in taste according to the race and antecedents and internal psychology of the admitted races. Many orders of priests, ascetics, monks, and hermits grew and re-grew, with their large accession of lay brothers and wandering members known as *Sadhus, Sannyasis, Bikshus, Bairagis,* and the like, whose peculiarities will be explained later.

The early temples of the Buddhists were, as has been said, the first buildings of stone. With the Hindu revival, all the old

ways of sacrifice in the open, of temporary silvan shrines of the hermit forest dwellers and the like disappeared. The stone temples or those later of brick and stucco appeared throughout the land. Those in the north were severe, austere, and often majestic, usually having the tower or spire as in the Buddhist days above the stupa or shrine. In the south where Dravidian art and mysterious cults dominated taste, came the building of ornamental temple towers covered with the most ornate carving, detailing the life of the god, stories from the *Mahabharata*, the *Ramayana* and the like. In many cases in the south, the worship of life and death and the creator took the shape of carving organs of generation, and scenes of copulation of men, of beasts, and even of humans and beasts interwoven—carvings which to Western ideas are obscenity and licence unimaginable, but which as already stated modern Hindus endeavour to explain away by suggestion of allegory.

The northern Hindu temples built during the early days of the reconstruction, that is to say about A.D. 500 to 600 of stone, are much to be admired. They are to be seen in their best among the Kashmir ruins, and in some of the old temples in the Punjab, notably at the Kafir Kots on the Indus, the temples at Martand, and in the more finished work to be seen in the post-Buddhist work that is at Taxila. But in this connection it is to be remembered that the Muslim iconoclasts were singularly complete, as witness the destruction, as wanton as that of Cromwell's troopers, of the beautiful temple of the Sun at Martand in Kashmir. The country is studded in the hill regions with the rock-hewn temples, Hindu, Buddhist and Jain, of astounding merit artistically, while in seeing the great Dravidian temples of the south, the stranger can but marvel at the piety that has devoted so much wealth to the purpose. The temples in Madras, or Gopurams, are usually surrounded with a vast wall, so strong that they have often been used as forts.

So it is that in some places the temples raise stone and gilded towers to the skies, in others, in the wake of the Muslims they lay shattered and forgotten, and once again let us listen to Lyall as he speaks in the voice of Siva.

"Let my temples fall, they are dark with age
Let my idols break they have stood their day,

On their deep hewn stones the primeval sage
Has figured the spells that pass away,
My presence may vanish from river and grove
But I live for ever in Death and Love".

JAINISM DURING THE EPOCH

It has already been explained that Jainism was an offshoot of Brahminism, like the teaching of Buddha, and was an uprising against caste. There must have been many systems and movements of the same type, and it is not clear how this particular one survived as well as Buddhism. Though it survived, it never accumulated the great driving force of Buddhism, but during the reconstruction period it increased, and remains in India the faith of perhaps one and a half million much respected people to this day. Like Buddhism it was an agnostic philosophy to begin with. It has been said that it lies midway between Buddhism and Hinduism in its philosophy, and this is not unreasonable definition. Like Brahminism and Buddhism it accepts *karma* and transmigration as the explanation of the world, and like Buddhism seeks *Nirvana* or release. It sees a soul in every living thing, including plants, even the smallest insect, being the home of a soul. It practises far greater austerity than Buddhism and is intensely careful to take no life. The irksomeness of this rule, as said earlier in this book, has proved an inhibition to the working classes from professing a daily rule so difficult to them. In common with both the two religions aforesaid *Yoga* the practice of secluded meditation in certain postures is followed. Mahavira the founder, took twelve years of ascetic seclusion to attain *Nirvan*, and therefore Jainism imposes this condition on its followers.

The Jain Canon, known as the *Siddhanta or Agama*, was framed at the council of Vallabhi in A.D. 454, but tradition says the council but reaffirmed what was accepted nearly seven hundred years earlier, by the council of Pataliputra held in the reign of the Maurya king Chandra Gupta. Jainism early broke into two distinct bodies, of which perhaps the special distinction is the determination to always appear naked, which distinguishes one of them the Digambara. Monasteries and nunneries flourished. The canonical Jain must possess right faith, right

knowledge, observe right conduct and the five points, *viz.*, abstention from killing, lying, stealing, sexual inter-course and all attachment to worldly things especially possessions. Laymen need only observe these points so far as the condition of their lives permit, but the injunction to kill no living thing, is however, strictly binding on all. The Canon is written in what is called *Ardha Magadha*, the language in which Mahavira taught, and besides the Canon and many *Sutras* or sermons the lay literature is very considerable. About the end of the eleventh century lived and wrote the celebrated monk Hema Chandra, his most famous work being the *Life of the Sixty-three Great men*.

The Jain religion like Buddhism developed a special form of art, which the wealth of its votaries enabled them to develop in their rock-hewn temples, some of their towers being specially famous as well as the paintings discovered of late years. The Temples of Mount Abu, in the Aravalli hills, are famous throughout the world, especially the astoundingly carved white marble dome in one of them.

As the years rolled on, the inherent desire for some spiritual belief also affected Jainism, and incarnations of teachers began to be believed. Twenty-three mythical patriarchs (*Tirtha-karas*=path finder) before Mahavira, came to be regarded as gods, to have temples erected to them in which their *eidolons* stood. As a quiet douce folk, they did not come into any great clash with Islam, and their temples do not seem to have suffered to the extent of the Hindu edifices.

THE UNTOUCHABLES

Through the ages, the grouping of the untouchables will have been noticed, those of non-Aryan, race, who have been brought into the system for servile purposes, and grouped, under the drip at the very edge of the Hindu umbrella: contemptible, unsaveable, but thrice-useful. Exactly where low caste ends and untouchable begins, is perhaps hard to say. In all its mental cruelty, untouchability remains to this day.

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Modern Hinduism

The origin of Brahminism and Hinduism, higher and popular, has been discussed, both in its first rise to great height and its reconstruction after the thousand years in the wilderness. As it grew after the reconstruction, so it stands for the most part today, except where severely in touch with modern Westernism. That aspect will be discussed later. Hinduism today is at any rate the census religion of over 160,000,000 people, of whom not more than seven per cent are Brahmins. Of the remainder the number of the twice-born, in other words the high cast, is but a fraction, and the mass are the infinite variety of the low caste. The imminence of the ballot-box has however improved the status of the lowest castes in this way. When, as is likely to happen, parliamentary power may be given by communistic status, it is for the first time important that the number of Hindus nominal or otherwise shall be increased. The Hindu hierarchy is therefore somewhat less scornful of the pretensions of those outcastes who would come under the Hindu Umbrella.

In previous chapters several attempts have been made and with poor success to bring Hinduism to a definition, and that is still as hard to do. It is a strange fact, already suggested, that neither Brahminism nor Hinduism has ever founded a Church, as the West and Islam understand it, or instituted any central authority, and endeavoured to produce any creed, formulate a ritual or produce any recognised rule of righteousness. It is true

that under this giant umbrella that the world—but it is curious to note not Hindus—call 'Hinduism', there have been countless teachers endeavouring to elicit a thousand different truths or rules of life from the *Vedas* and other religious teachings of antiquity! Follow any you like! none is greater or less than the other! has been the rule.

Hindus do not call themselves Hindus nor their religion Hinduism.

But here in the twentieth century when it is important that all who have anything to do with India, and in Great Britain every parliamentary voter is so charged, should know something of the subject, it is no undesirable thing that we should be able to describe by some short title the creed and rule of life of so many millions of our fellow subjects.

To get at all forward with the subject, we must fall back on some such account as a non-Hindu can indite of the matter. It would seem from all that has been outlined, that it may be summed up something as follows.

In theory Hinduism is the worship of an ineffable being in a Trinity or triple modification of the Godhead known as the *Trimurti* and sometimes as *Brahm*, with three, *persona*, Brahma the Creator, Vishnu the Preserver, Siva the Destroyer. This the theory by which the Brahmin or other Hindu theologist endeavours to explain Hinduism. Within this the Salvation cult can very properly pose as the highest thought on the same subject. In practice all the higher classes of Hindus worship, or fail to worship, in particular one of these three *persona*. So much is this the case that the worship of Siva and that of Vishnu are almost different faiths, and the term Hindu as applied to both has as much reference to ethnic origin, as it has to any similarity of religion.

Within these limits there are many manifestations of the God, and many forms from which worshippers select that which suits them, or that worshipped by the family from which they spring. When we come to the humble classes, partly Hindus or feebly associated therewith are the countless gods of the countryside, where each village has its own. To which it can be said that each and all are such portions of the divine influence as appertain to the dwelling-place or the avocation of the worshipper. A jockey who was a Vishnuvite might very well use the

image of a horse as representing all that life meant to him, and therefore the representative of the Almighty Spirit from whom all good things flow. The barber might even exalt his shaving brush, and burn lamps thereto, and still be but worshipping in a dim way that Almighty whose dispensations have provided that he, the worshipper, should do his duty by God and man as a barber.

The foregoing is the theory, but so far as popular Hinduism goes it is far from the practice. Many people consider Brahminism as a distinct matter from Hinduism, and so in many way it is. But if looked at from the point of view just described, it is but the difference from those who have thought out each point regarding the Almighty and all that appertains thereto, as let us say a highest order of clergy and theologists might do, and a public who, even those of pious mind, but watch and worship blindly.

To be a Hindu, or at any rate a nominal one, it is still but necessary to conform to the usual customs and ways of Hindus. There is still no religious law of life though there be plenty of customs, to which a man born a Hindu must conform. There is still no set of beliefs which a Hindu need hold. Belief is altogether free. It is true that the Hindu should consider the *Vedas* as inspired, the Brahmins divinely appointed as the priests of God, and that caste is ordained by heaven. Yet many a Hindu believe none of these things so long as he conforms.

The sacredness of the family comes first of all, so that nepotism is a duty.* the importance of the ceremonies is far greater than that of belief. The rules regarding food, occupation, marriage and residence are the things that matter. Break these and you cease to belong in the eyes of your neighbour and the community, to anything connected with Hinduism. The sacredness of the Brahman and the cow are as much as essential as ever.

And this again brings us to the question by another road—what is a Hindu? And the answer comes then—to be a Hindu a man must have been born in one of the social groups which since the beginning of time have been associated with Hinduism. To merely follow such ways and customs and worship as do Hindus, is of no account in entering the pale of real or twice-

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* And this is one of the astounding difficulties of the public services in India.

born Hinduism. It is said that Mr. Edwin Montagu, when in India, demanded in discussions with Brahmins at Benaras how he could become a Hindu. He was told that his Eastern origin would help him not at all, but that if he fed a thousand Brahmins a day—and feeding Brahmins from time immemorial has been a very meritorious act—and then committed suicide, he *might* be reborn a Hindu, and 'that was that', in the Aryan metaphor. His *karma* would dog him for ever. It may be realized from this how intensely apart and above the rest of humanity is he that is born a Hindu, meaning one of the twice-born classes. It will also thus be evident how astoundingly irreconcilable must be the points of view of Hindu and Muhammedan, of the Moslem, and to use their own phrase the *Musheriq*,* the Hindus claiming the only position that matters in this world or the next, the Moslem supremely contemptuous of the idolator or the man, as he understands, it, of many gods.

It may also be here remarked that those who are not twice-born, but who from time immemorial have been in association with those who are, are infinitely more particular in the observance of ancient rule and custom, than those who are. That as a matter of fact will be recognizable as a very human trait. Thus will women too humble to be compelled to sit in *purdah*, often assume the veil, as their husbands rise in the possession of this world's goods. It once happened that the revered Sir Pertap Singh, the master of old-fashioned chivalry, a Rajput of Rajputs, was asked by an educated Indian who was travelling with him, how it was that he did certain things contrary to Hindu laws and customs. His Highness fell on him, "Why d . . . it!" he said, or words to that effect, "I am a Rajput, and what I do is good enough for me and for you." And from many points of view he was right. A Rajput of the 'Sun' or 'Moon' or, for the matter of that, even of the 'Fire' need fear no critic.

So much for the higher folk who may also devote themselves to the high service of any of the manifestations of the deity with all the energy of the '*Bhakti*', which has been already alluded to, that adoration and devotion which is to be found among the devout of all creeds, and which we may now explore. The Hindu who has stepped himself in Western ideas and

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* He who divides and shares his worship.

Science, may hold the greatest contempt for the popular side of uninstructed Hinduism, and yet satisfy his soul with the higher side of *Bhakti,* and remain within the Hindu fold.

BHAKTI AND THE MODERN SALVATION TEACHING

While Christianity, as a religion to which people have flocked in great numbers, has made little progress in India among the Aryan races, nevertheless its effect of the national ethics has been remarkable. We need not refer to the basis of humane and modern laws and the suppression of some of the more cruel of the Hindu practices, but rather to its effect on the minds of the thinkers. The ardent supporter of Brahminism and of Buddhism, anxious to prove that he too proclaims a faith that has equal claims in moral and spiritual teaching, has been busy of modern time developing or forbishing up the more mystical of his faith's teachings. For centuries the contact with Christian ethics has gone on, and these have been studied with interest and curiosity by the learned of India and the Far East. The effect of this on Buddhism has been referred to already. In the recent years when the West and East have come into such close contact, the Hindu philosopher and theologist has been put to it to hold his own as the professor of great spiritual truths before the judgment of modern mankind. The teaching of *Bhakti,* so long cherished in the hearts of many Hindus, has now taken on a new meaning. It is openly talked of as a competitor with Christianity for the suffrages of the world. The earnest missionary of the day having long forsaken the attitude of contempt for the non-Christian religions, no longer talks heedlessly of idols, however much he may emphasize his reprehension of the evils which Eastern religions permit of unchecked and unchallenged. He realize that there is great teaching, and has stirred himself to study it, so that he may the better know and explain where the non-Christian creeds join issue with Christ, and where they and Christianity can march together. In *Bhakti,* the adoration and salvation cults, have there had much study and their beauty and charm has been realized. It is not too much to say that these cults must have shown to Lord Irwin how far and how deeply the pious Indian and the Christian may share inspiration and experience.

To follow this form of Brahminical and Hindu belief, the whole gamut of popular Hinduism, its temples and its rituals, its braying of conches and clanging of gongs, may be thrown out, and the realm of thought entered, with no more selected surrounding that quiet and peace on a road untold.

The coming of the gospel of the *Upanishads* has been referred to and the idea that *Brahm* is joy, is life and death, and peace and comprehension, and how this great secret came to Brahmin minds several hundred years before the birth of Christ. Redemption, salvation, release are familiar. Eastern conceptions, before they were taught in Palestine, and the teaching that man must lose himself in identification with God is a very old urge.

Amid the coming of Greek and Tartar, of Mongol and Hun, the quiet and studious have sought solitudes far from the madding crowd to make their study. Phalanxes and *gols, panch hazaris* and *howda*, Hastings and Harsha have passed them by, the hermit sat apart.

Here as I sit by the Jumna bank
  Watching the flow of the sacred stream,
Pass me the legions rank on rank,
  And the cannon roar and the bayonets gleam.

Is it a god or a king that comes?
  Both are evil and both are strong,
With women and worship and dancing and song
  Carry your gods and your kings along!

Fanciful shapes of a plastic earth,
  Both are evil and both are strong,
These are the fashions that weary the eye,
  These I may escape by a luckier birth,
Musing and fasting and hoping to die.

—Lyall

But the *Bhakti* teaching held and holds more for the human than for the ascetic life, though the hermit spirit, and the search alone, are no doubt the failing of the Eastern Way. It may mean the complete identification of self in thought and deed, so far as humanly possible in the Almighty.

So much has the Salvation teaching caught the more sympathetic eye, that some missionary thought has even

suggested that in a universal Christianity, the *Bagavad-gita* might even take the place of the Old Testament as a prelude to the Christian Gospels, and have even suggested that *Bhakti*-followers might possibly say the Lord's Prayer with Christians. To dispel this, while yielding to none his acknowledgement of the beauty and spirituality of the cults, Professor Rudolph Otto has recently written a treatise to compare the two.*

The atonement with the Deity of a soul craving the surrender of life and destiny and striving, the peace of faith and trust and, the desire to be one with God, not for personal happiness but for Love of God are granted as the aim and faith of the *Bhakti*. But *Isvara*, the Almighty as conceived by the Hindu mind, cannot be the Almighty as taught dimly by the Prophets of Israel and revealed by Christ. The conception of the two infinites are so different. Thus Professor Otto:

> "But the Kingdom of God in the Prophets and in the Gospel means something much more and much greater, than a mere demand for a decision by the individual in view of an eventual judgment. The coming Kingdom of God is first and chiefly that which the name indicates, the mysterious fulfilment and the goal which God has chosen, *viz.*: the last and final establishment of the '*malkut Jahweh*' over everything and all things and over the world itself . . .
>
> "It has its roots in the soil of the old and specifically different prophecy of Israel of a day when 'righteousness' shall cover the land like water and when at last that for which the fathers hoped shall be real.
>
> "That includes a very different God from that of India. *Isvara* thrones in his eternity. Deep beneath him rushes the stream of the world, and humanity in *samsara*, in ever repeated circles of woeful birth and rebirth. In this world the wandering soul strolls, separated from *Isvara* by its fall, lost in the confusion of the world. Then He inclines to it in pure undeserved grace. Out of the infinite number of the lost, He raises His own to Himself . . . the world rushes on from one aeon to another, never dies, it becomes the abode

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* *India's Religion of Grace and Christianity Compared and Contrasted*--Translated from the German by Dr. F.H. Foster.

of the honour and glory of God. It remains a *Lila*, a sport of the Deity, a concatenation without goal and end."

Thus the grace of *Isvara* is a thing apart, and we see that the 'Lord's Prayer' cannot be said under one umbrella by *Bhakti* and Christian, however beautiful and devout the *Bhakti* outlook.

Nevertheless we can see how ample is the space in which the two may work together for the good and happiness of mankind and for mutual understanding, trusting to the Almighty to choose the time of his harvesting.

THE HINDUISM OF THE HUMBLE FOLK TODAY

But granted that there are many who through the ages have practised *Bhakti* and live to serve and obey, either their selected lord, or that supreme lord *Isvara*, as we have seen in the Salvation cult, what of the humbler and simpler folk, for those of high and low caste. What does Hinduism do for the humble and lowly? And here let us remind ourselves that high caste folk may be very low in the world's goods and the culture that should come from their possession. The answer is not by any means condemnatory. It is true that there is not much talk of adoration, of self-surrender, of *Bhakti*, but there is a great deal of homely good. Watching the contented and kindly masses of the people, one at once sees how much greater in mankind, given reasonable conditions is the 'original good' compared with the 'original sin.'

Hinduism, the worship of God in the form of Vishnu or Siva, their wives, companions, incarnations, or satellites, produces a general state of content and rough human duty, with a pathetic little uplifting of hands by the faithful hard-working wives, and the steady doing of the day's work for the wife and brains by the menfolk. The sweet tinkle of the temple bells, the braying of the conches that summon to prayer, the conscientious and serious great uplifting of hands by the priesthood, all combine to make a life of reasonable stability and happiness. The popular festivals are eagerly and happily attended as in the medieval ages in Europe. They are simple enough in their origins, the *Dussehra* which is but the feast of Spring, the *Dewali*, the happy squib-pipping *Dewali*, is but harvest home. The *Holi*, somewhat indecorous in its licence, resembles that unbending of

Greek and Roman days, when the prim and virtuous may let off steam by what is declared to be divine injunction, a truly human conception which *mi-careme* understands. But the tragedy remains that such good rule of everyday conduct that obtains, comes from the innate goodness of the people, rather than part of the rule of life of religion, that should show mankind a lead. It is not much of inspiration that men bring away from the temples, and yet they have much that is kindly and homelike in their call. and in all the little homes and good little Hindu wife says the family prayers for the tired lord, who sleeps and rests from his labours, and the bairns she stuffs with rice. In the south especially, among the Dravidian folk, the daily life is spoilt by the fear of devils and demons, and the body of ill omens. The temple are full of fearsome images, that perhaps are but inhibitions, and frighteners. Here among the humble ones and the outcastes it is that Christianity makes such strides, among the semi-castes for whom the priest and demons cater. Up in the Himalaya where the caves of cedar temples curl Tartar-wise and the great deodar groves cast cool shade, there we may find the hill folk enjoying some of the simplicity of the *Vanaprashtra,* the forest hermits, and the little gongs and symbols bring a message of cheer to those of the valley who see the sun for perhaps two hours a day. Here indeed we see the village faith as we do in the northern villages, at its simplest and best. For when Adam delves and Eve spins the priest must be the lifter-up of hands, and it is so the length and breadth of Hindustan. Both Vishnu and Siva, where the congregation see to it that their priests do not want, appear as kindly protecting divinities who will help a man through his troubles in this world. If a man wants more he can have it at the foot of the *guru* or *swami,* who will teach him the way of *Bhakti.*

Unfortunately no one will untie the knots of fear that make humble life so heavy. No one will tell the peasant that *bhoots* or ghosts do him no harm, that charms are not necessary and that even the dread *churel,* the ghost of the poor lass who has died in childbirth, and must haunt men-folk in consequence—you may know her because her poor little feet are turned backward—can do no harm to those who say their prayers and don't beat their wives.

Be it remembered that the simple folk and their ways and

customs are the principal care of the British Magistracy, who alone love to understand them. The Hindu *intelligentzia* care little enough. Humble folk all the world round are the Briton's care, who study their needs, problems and future with often enthusiastic affection.

THE ASCETIC SECTS AND MENDICANTS

There are a little over five million Hindu ascetic mendicants who roam the length and breadth of India, having renounced all possessions, and who live work and care free on the generosity and holy instincts of the religiously minded. Who and what they are, and the good and the evil of a system which encourages such vast numbers from attempting any remunerative work in the community, is not very generally understood. The European in India classes them under a few general names, *faqirs* (which they are not, as *faqir* is strictly a Moslem religious mendicant, *gosains, sadhus, sannyasins, jogis, bairagis* and the like.

The religious ascetics are mendicants bound by vows of renunciation, *viz. gosains,* which mean lord, or master of passion. The ascetic orders were originally only open to the Brahmins, they were later extended to the twice born, and are, with a few exceptions, now open to men of any caste. There are a few women ascetics, *sadhvin* (feminine of *sadhu*), but the publicity of the life makes it unsuitable for them, and the number are few. Now and again some widow, weary of her life of drab restraint, becomes a mendicant.

The term '*sadhu*', which means simply 'good', may be used as convenient term for the whole class. All *sadhus* belong to one of the many religious orders entered under vows of renunciation of the world. All belong to and stay in various monasteries which have been erected by the pious through the ages. But monasteries are but their temporary habitat for their business is to roam the world, obtaining their subsistence from the charitable, and demonstrating to high and low before all worlds, that there is something else worth living for than worldly possessions and comfort. This object lesson they veritably perform, and do undoubtedly serve as a reminder of this cardinal fact.

The public receive them kindly and support them cheerfully. While many are earnest and genuine, some are impostors

and time-servers. The public is perfectly well aware of those who are worthless, and those who are not, and while putting up with the faults and weaknesses are cognizant and appreciative of their good points. Naturally the people are apt to grumble and make jokes at the number of hungry mendicants who push their bowls before them, but pay up nevertheless, last they be cursed or fail to earn the blessing of the gods.

Most *sadhus* wear a dress of saffron yellow, a few sects have other colours. All carry a begging bowl made of a gourd or coconut or sometimes of brass, and carry also a waterpot and a staff. A pair of fire tongs is often carried to keep evil spirits away, and convey a coal to the pipe bowl, and pestle and mortar of *bhang*, their besetting weakness. Some go naked and are known as *Digambaras* or 'sky-clad', their bodies smeared with ashes which serve to keep off insects from their bodies and demons from their souls, as well as serve as an emblem of their humility. All wear rosaries of beads which serve to remind them of prayers and *mantras*. It is said that the rosaries of Christians were adopted from them.

Most of the ascetic sects are followers of Siva, a far less number follow Vishnu. The Saivites wear a rosary of 32 or 64 berries, he well-known knobly berry, of the *Rudrakshi (Eleocapu ganitri)* and the Vishnuvites of beads of the *tulasi*, the holy basil (*Ocymuni-sanctus*). Many *sadhus* wear also a necklace of human teach, and snake skin round the neck. Their locks and face hair is usually unkempt and matted.

Most of the well-known teachers founded schools of mendicants who should go about and proclaim their teachings, and who are in fact begging friars welcome in households, and with many a Friar Tuck among them, despite their outwardly horrifying aspects.

THE AUSTERITIES

The foundation of these orders is, as has been said, renunciation, *sannyasin*, and all idea of holiness in Hindu thought is based on *tapas*, which not only achieves holiness but gives power over nature and over occult things.

Siva himself practised relentless austerities for countless years, and his followers but copy him. The word *tapas*, 'austerity',

which really means 'hot', and hence the heat from pain, has an interesting inner meaning for in addition to that penance, and ascetisicm also means 'duty in that station of life, etc.' For the Brahmin, *tapas* means teaching, for the *Kshatriya* or soldier class, protection of the community for the *Vaisya*, carrying out the allotted daily task of business or agriculture, and for the *Sudra*, service.

In addition to the act of renunciation and asceticism, which in many sects means the renunciation of all desire and passion, and involves celibacy, many tortures and rigours are involved. A well-known mortification is the couch of spikes on which the ascetic reclines. There is an authentic case of one *sadhu* who lay on one for over thirty years. Another well-known penance is to hold the arm over the head, till it is so stiff that it never can be lowered, and sometimes both arms are raised, which means that the *sadhu* can never feed himself. Nails uncut and curled like ram's horns is a popular culture. Swinging from steel hooks let into loops of flesh cut into the victim's back is also quite popular, and to be seen at festivals. All these severe penances and mortifications do not only bring intense feelings of satisfaction to the performer, and the sure and certain belief of the genuineness of his salvation, but do further emphasize what has been referred to, that there are other things in life that count besides ease.

The general control over nerves that results from fasts and the mortification do, no doubt, provide some inherent callousness to physical pain, and thus assist the seeker for righteousness in the weakness of his body.

It is interesting to know that the terrible spiked bed aforesaid, is derived from the circumstances of death of Bhisma, the leader of the great Aryan clan of the Kurus who was slain with so many arrows through his body that they protruded behind like the spikes of the bed of penance and remembrance.

THE VARIOUS SECTS AND MENDICANTS

The sects of the *sadhus* are too numerous to describe in any detail but some of the more usual ones may be given. They are distinct from the mere recluse. An ascetic or recluse, is usually called a *swami,* which means 'lord' and is a term of courteous respect, and reverence, that entirely suits the gentle appearance

and wholly benevolent life that the true *swami* leads . . . the sort of person who is made to appear in the sketch in Chapter I. Mrs. Steel in her wonderful study of the Indian Mutiny, *On the Face of the Waters,* draws one outside Delhi while the stramash of the siege is on, with great faithfulness. Through the ages, men of presence and power and dominion have left the world in the East as in the west, to seek God and meditate on His ways. There is a quaint story of an European at some place of pilgrimage in the Himalaya, who had inadvertently let his impious shadow fall on the sacred aloof square of earth in which a recluse sat, eating his noontide meal. In disgust the Indian had risen and thrown down the hillside his food that was thus made untouchable, with an exclamation of horror. Then was he heard to say in English, "Tutt, Romesh Chander, Why should you, once a scholar of Balliol, be angry because that poor ignorant European has cast his shadow on you."

The great teachers of the past who have been briefly referred to in this short book, Sankaracharya, Ramanuja, Ramananda, Kabir, all left sects, behind them which remain, broken of course into sub-sects. But the majority of such are among the followers of Siva, and his fierce and bloody Goddess Kali, who can also be sublime and beginning, at the sea rages and storms and subsides. The seven principal Saivite sects are as follows:

> The *Dandins, Sannyassin, Brahmacharin, Paramahamsa, Lingyat, Aghorin* and *Yogin.*

The *Dandins,* so called from always carrying a *dand* or staff, are solely Brahmins, and are also called '*Dasnamah*' or 'ten-names' from the ten principal disciples of Sankara. Their initiation includes a baptism, and the removal of the sacred thread of the twice-born.

The *Sanyassins* include seven sub-sects, and are open to all castes. An initiate receives from the initiating *guru* his new name the sacred *mantrum,* and is told the sub-sect to which he is posted.

The *Aghorins,* or *Aghora-panths,* are a strange sect, which is nearly dead, consisting of *sadhus* who have acquired a strange and repulsive appetite for the flesh of corpses, in fact, like their game high, and are reputed to steal corpses from burial grounds

to satisfy it. Such a taste would be accepted as their peculiar method of mortifying nature and showing their humility.

Yogin, or *Jogis*, is the name for all ascetics who practise *Yoga*, who endeavour by restraint or discipline to obtain union of the soul with the Supreme. They are mystics and self-hypotizers, and claim peculiar powers which undoubtedly some possess. Their founder was one Gorakhnath, a follower of Mohendranath, of whom little is known. They are worshippers of Siva, disregard caste and normally live well.

The Vishnuvite followers among the ascetics are rather wandering monks than mendicants. Among these are the followers at Ramanuja, who are termed *bairagis*, who must be free from all world desire and passion and are pledged to celibacy. This and all the ascetic orders are really immersed in salvation of self, and there is little of the desire to lead others on the holy path, or anything of the order of Hospitallers about them. They crowd to the pilgrims and great religious fairs, but never think of doing a hand's turn to help the helpless, and the needy. That is left to the wandering Christian priest as shown in the scene in Chapter I, to the British magistrate and police officer with his *conshtabils*, who are father and mother to countless crowds.

Now and again some European missionary or other attempts to be *sadhu* and *sannyassin*, to live among them, learn their spirit and gain their confidence. But try he never so earnestly it is apparently beyond the powers of his psychology. On the other hand the Indian Christian to whom the mentality is inborn, does do so with success, gaining the affection and respect of those he meets. It is in this way that Christianity may come into its own.

The *Linga* cult of Siva naturally finds its way among the *sadhus* who follow that worship. Not only do many like the Lingayats carry a *linga* with them as sign and mascot, but they do so manipulate their poor person as by suture and what not that their organs become afflicted with immense proportions, in the same way that some men's arms become fixed above them. In the popularity for *linga* imagery, such attributes add to their saintliness, and it is a matter of common gossip that women solicit their favours as a stimulant to their fertility.

HIS MAJESTY AT THE YOGI-SERAI

At Benaras there are of course many monasteries for *sadhus,* and there is one on the sacred banks of the Ganges where many congregate with wide steps that lead down to the water's edge. The *sadhus* there congregated would be of many sects and strange and horrifying as well as interesting appearance. While there, they are ruled by an old *sadhu* who, clad in leopard skin, and hung with rosaries and beggar' bowls, presides from a small shelter in the centre, a big kettledrum by his side, with which to call their attention.

It is related that His Majesty while in Benaras was taken down to visit this serai, and bathing-ghat accompanied by a police officer, a surprise and incognito visit of great interest. Leaving their motor-boat at the steps, the King and his guide approached the old head-*sadhu* quietly. He like all his company were resting and drowsing in the noonday sun, the *jogis* and *sahus* round the sides of the *serai.*

As they approached him, the old man sat up blinking, and staring at the new comers. "Sahib," he ejaculated to the police officer. "*Sahib*! You've brought the *Badshah*! That is not right without notice. Get up you *jogis*! Get up and *salaam*, you beggars! His Majesty the King!" and he beat great booms on his drum, so that ash-covered and leopart-skinned, deformed, loathly, benign and dignified, the holy men leapt to their feet. His Majesty has come to see the *sadhus*! Wah! Wah! and a very remarkable sight it was, as they danced and shook themselves and rang their bells, and then the King looked around and said a few words and perhaps disbursed something for creature comforts and the stomach's sake. As he came away, the steps of the bathing-*ghat* were crowded with such a weird and enthusiastic crowd as had not perhaps been seen since the days of Chandra Gupta.

4

Buddhism

I
BUDDHA'S YOUTH

The noble boy Siddhatha was born in the country and the tribe of the Sakyas ("The Powerful") somewhere about the middle of the sixth century before Christ. Better known than this name which he seems to have borne in the family circle, are other appellations. As a preaching monk wandering through India he was to his contemporaries "The ascetic Gautama"—this surname the Sakyas had, in accordance with the custom of Indian noble families, borrowed from one of the ancient Vedic bard-families; to us no name for this renowned of all Indians is so familiar as that with which the disciples who accepted his faith have expressed his authoritative position as the overthrower of error, as the discerner of the truth which gives deliverance, the name Buddha, *i.e.* "the enlightened," "the knower."

We can point out the native land of Buddha on the map of India with tolerable accuracy.

Between the Nepalese lower range of the Himalaya and the middle part of the course of the Rapti,* which runs through the north-eastern part of the province of Awadh, there stretches a

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* This river often appears in the Buddhist literature as Aciravati.

strip of level, fruitful land,† some thirty English miles broad, well-watered by the numerous streams that issue from the Himalayas. Here lay the not very extensive territory over which the Sakyas claimed supremacy and dominion. On the east the Rohini separated their lands from their neighbours; to this day this stream has preserved the name which it bore more than two thousand years ago.* On the west and south the rule of the Sakyas extended quite up, or nearly so, to the Rapti.‡

Scarcely anywhere does the appearance of a country depend so completely on the activity or sloth of its inhabitants, as in these parts of India adjoining the Himalayas. The mountains send forth year by year inexhaustible volumes of water: whether for the benefit or for the destruction of the country depends solely on man's activity. Tracts of land which in times of unrest and thriftlessness are a swampy wilderness, the homes of pestilential vapours, may by a few years of regular and steady industry pass into a state of high and prosperous culture, and, if the causes of decline set in anew, return still more quickly to the state of a wilderness.

In the time of Sakya sovereignty this land must have been highly cultivated, a condition which it again attained under the government of the great emperor Akbar, and which, after long periods of protracted disquiet and sore decay, it is just now beginning once more to approach under the beneficent hand of the British administration, which is intent on supplying the land with the necessary working power.**

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† The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang (about 650 (A.C.) says of Buddha's native state (St. Julien's Translation in 130): "La terre est grasse et fertile: les semailles et les recoltes out lien a des epoques regulieres; les saisons ne se derangent jamais; es moenrs des habitants sent douces et faciles."

* The Rohini falls into the Rapti near Goruckpore, some hundred English miles north of Benaras.

‡ The territory of the Sakyas included, as far as it appears, according to the present divisions of the land, approximately the following circles (pergunnahs) belonging to the Gorakhpur district: Binayakpur, Bansee, and the western half of pergunnah Haveli. For an exact estimate of the extent of this territory the data at hand are obviously insufficient; I might quite roughly estimate it at nine-tenths the area of Yorkshire.

** *Cf.* the descriptions of burchanan, who travelled in the country about 1810 (Montgumary Martin, ii, 292, 402, etc.), with A. Swinton's *"Manual of Statistics of the District of Goruckpore"* (Allahabad, 1861), and the new official *"Statistical*

Between tall forests of sal trees yellow rice-fields spread out in uniform richness. The rice plant, which the Buddhist texts here mention, constitutes to-day, as in ancient times, the chief crop of this country, where the water of the rainy season and of inundations remains long standing on the rich soil of the low lying flats, and renders in great measure superfluous that excessively troublesome articial irrigation which is elsewhere necessary for rice.† Between the rice-fields we may here and there place villages in the days of Sakyas such as exist to-day, hidden among the rich, dark-green foliage of mangos and tamarinds, which surrounds the village site. In the background of the picture, over the black masses of the mountains of Nepal, rise the towering snow-capt summits of the Himalayas.

The kingdom of the Sakyas was one of those small aristocratic governments, a number of which had maintained themselves on the outskirts of the greater Indian monarchies. We shall not be far astray if we picture to ourselves the Sakyas as the forerunners in some fashion of such Rajput families as have in later times, by the aid of armed bands, held their ground against neighbouring rajas.* Of these greater monarchies there stood in closest proximity to the Sakyas, the powerful kingdom of Kosala (corresponding pretty nearly with the Awadh of to-day), adjoining it on the south and west. The Sakyas looked on themselves as Kosalas, and the kings of Kosala claimed certain rights over them, though probably merely honorary rights; later on they are said to have brought the Sakya-land wholly within their power, and to have exterminated the ruling family.‡

Description and Historical Account of the Gorakhpur District" (Allahabad, 1880), pp. 287-330.

† *Inter alia*, the importance of rice cultivation to the Sakyas is evident from the name of Buddha's father, "pure rice," probably also from the otherwise seemingly fictitious names of his four brother: clear-rice, strong-rice, white-rice, and immeasurable-rice.

* An instructive picture of these occurrences is given by Sir W.H. Sleeman, in his *"Journey through the Kingdom of Oude,"* for inst. vol. i. p. 240.

‡ The Kosala king to whom this act is ascribed, is Vidudabha, the son of Buddha's contemporary and patron, Pasenadi. Though later legends represent the Sakyas as having been destroyed during Buddha's life-time, this is not, as far as I know, supported by any proof contained in the sacred Palli texts. Moreover the history of Buddha's relics (*"Mahaparin,"* S. p. 68) clearly states that the Sakya dynasty survived Buddha.

But though the Sakyas occupied but an insignificant position in respect of military and political power among their neighbours, the haughty spirit which prevailed in their ancient family was characteristic of the Sakya line. Brahmans who had entered the council chamber of the Sakyas could testify to the little notice which these worldly nobles, who derived their nobility from the king Okkaka (Ikshvaku), renowned in song, were inclined to take of the claims of spiritual dignitaries.

Of the wealth also of the Sakyas‡ our authorities speak frequently. They talk of them as "a family blessed with prosperity and great opulence," and mention the gold which they possess, and which the land they rule produces. The chief source of their wealth was undoubtedly rice cultivation; and the advantageous position of their territory, commercially, which had been formed, as it were, for a medium of communication between the mountain range and the Gangetic plains, cannot have been unavailed of.

A widespread tradition represents Buddha as having been a king's son. At the head of this aristocratic community there must certainly have been some one leading man, appointed, we know not by what rules, with the title of king, which can scarcely in this case have indicated more than the position of *primus inter pares*. But the idea that Buddha's father, Suddhodhana, enjoyed this royal dignity is quite foreign to the oldest forms in which the traditions regarding the family are presented to us: rather, we have nothing more or less to contemplate in Suddhodhana than one of the great and wealthy landowners of the Sakya race, whom later legends first transformed into the "great king Suddhodhana."

The mother of the child, Maya, also a member of the Sakya stock, died soon—seven days, it is said—after the birth of the boy. Her sister, Mahaprajapati, another wife of Suddhodhana, filled for him the place of mother.

Traditional story represents with apparent truth that the

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‡ Indeed, it must not be forgotten that the value of these statements is not quite indisputable; inasmuch as the object was to represent Buddha's separation from his kin, as being, from a worldly point of view, a very great sacrifice, the wealth which he renounced must have been painted in the strongest colours possible. This is to be noticed also in the biography of Mahavira, Buddha's contemporary, the founder of the Jaina sect.

young noble passed his youth in the capital of the Sakya realm, in Kapilavastu ("red place," or red earth).* This town, wholly unknown† to Brahmanical literature, cannot have been of much importance, although in an old Buddhist dialogue it is spoken of as a densely populated place, in the narrow streets of which were thronging elephants, carts, horses, and men.

We know scarcely anything of Buddha's childhood. We hear of a step-brother and of a step-sister renowned for her beauty, children of Mahaprajapati. What was the difference of age between them and their brother, is not known.

In the training of nobles in those lands which were but slightly attached to Brahmanism, more attention was paid to martial exercises than to knowledge of the *Veda*. Buddhists have not attributed Vedic scholarship to their master. Many a day may have been passed by the boy out of doors on his father's estate, indulging in meditations, as an old text describes him to us, in a field under the cool shade of a fragrant jambu tree (rose-apple).

Among the opulent and gentle youth of that age, it was indispensable to the comfort of a style of life in keeping with their dignity, to have three palaces. which were constructed to be occupied by turns corresponding to the changes of winter, summer, and rains. Tradition states that the coming Buddha passed his early years in three such palaces, a life the background of which was the same scenery, the wonderful splendour of which then surrounded, and, still unchanged, now surrounds, the habitations of Indian nobles; shady gardens with lotus-pools on which the gently waving, gay-coloured lotus-flowers gleam like floating flower beds, and in the evening diffuse their fragrance afar, and outside the town the pleasure grounds to which the walks or elephant-rides lead, where rest and solitude await the comer, far from the bustle of the town, beneath the

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* Montg. Martin, i, 293, says of Gorakhpur district: "No soul of a red colour was observed on the surface, although earths of this kind may be procured by digging." This is quite sufficient, if we consider the changes caused in the earth's surface by inundations in the course of more than two thousand years, to explain the name Kapilavastu. Swinton (p. 33) mentions "red spots resembling carbonate of iron," in the sandy beds under the surface of the yellow earth.

† Antea, note p. 93.

shade of tall and thick foliaged mango, pipal and sal-trees.

We are told that the coming Buddha was married—but whether to one or several wives is not known—and that he had a son, Rahula, who afterwards became a member of his religious order. These statements we can the less regard as concoctions, the more casually and incidentally they meet us in the older traditions, the person of Rahula or of his mother.* being there employed neither for didactic purposes nor to introduce pathetic situations. If one takes into account the part which the obligation of austere chastity plays in the ethical views and the monastic rules of the Buddhists, he will understand that had we before us here not facts but gratuitous inventions, the tendency of the fabricators of the history must have been rather to throw a veil over a real existing marriage of Buddha than to invent one which had no existence.

These scanty traces exhaust all that is handed down to us, credible concerning Buddha's early life. We must forbear asking the question, from what quarter and in what form the germs of those thoughts entered his soul which drove him to change home for exile and the plenty of his palaces for the poverty of a mendicant.

We can very readily understand how, in the oppressive monotony of idle ease and satiated enjoyment, there may have come directly over an earnest and vigorous nature a mood of restlessness, the thirst for a career and a struggle for the highest aims, and the despair at the same time to find anything to assuage that thirst in the empty world of transitory pleasure. Who knows anything of the form which these thoughts may have assumed in the mind of the youth, and how far the impulse which pervaded that age, and led men and women to leave home for an ascetic life, acting from without upon these inner pre-dispositions, may have influenced him also?

We have in one of the holy texts a description which shows in bare simplicity, how the early disciples represented to themselves the awakening of the fundamental ideas of their faith in the mind of their master.

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* Her name appears to have been unknown to the ancient Church. Copious inventions of later times first filled up these gaps in various ways. Cf. Davids' and my notes to our English translation of the "Mahavagga," i. 54.

Buddha is speaking to his disciples to his youth, and after he has spoken of the abundance which surrounded him in his palaces, he goes on to say:

> "With such wealth was I endowed, my disciples, and in such great magnificence did I live. Then these thoughts arose within me. 'A weak-minded, everyday man, although he is himself liable to decay and is not free from the power of old age, feels horror, revulsion and disgust, if he sees another person in old age: the horror which he then feels recoils on himself. I also am subject to decay and am not free from the power of old age. Should I also, who am subject to decay and am not free from the power of old age, feel horror, revulsion, and disgust, if I see another in old age? This would not be becoming to me.' While I thus reflected, my disciples, in my own mind, all that buoyancy of youth, which dwells in the young, sank within me. A weak minded everyday man, though he be himself liable to sickness, and is not free from the power of disease," and so on—then the same train of thought, which has been stated regarding old age and youth, follows in reference to disease and health, and then in regard to death and life. "While I, my disciples," thus ends this passage, "thus reflected in my mind, all that spirit of life which dwells in life, sank within me."

A later age desired to see illustrated in concrete occurrences, how for the first time and with impressive power the thoughts of old age, disease, and death crept over the young man, healthy and in the freshness of life, and how he was directed by some significant example to that path which leads away beyond the power of all suffering. Thus was invented, or rather transferred to the youth of Gautama, a legend which was narrated of one of the legendary Buddhas of bygone ages—the familiar history of the four drives of the youth to the garden outside the town, during which the pictures of the impermanence of everything earthly presented themselves to him one after the other, in the form of a helpless old man, a sick person, and a dead body; and at last a religious mendicant with shaven head and wearing yellow garments meets him, a picture of peace and of deliverance from all pain of impermanence. In that way

later tradition concocted this narrative preparatory to the flight of Gautama from his home. Of all this the early ages knew nothing.

When Gautama left home to lead a religious life, he was, according to good tradition, twenty-nine years old.

He must have been no mean poet in whose hand the history of this flight grew into that poem, rich in the splendour of Indian colouring, as we read it in the later books of legends.

The king's son returns from that drive during which, by the appearance of a religious mendicant, thoughts of a life of peaceful renunciation had come home to him. When he mounts his chariot, the birth of a son is announced to him. He says: "Rahula* is born to me, a fetter has been forged for me"—a fetter which tries to bind him to the home-life from which he is struggling to part. A princess, who is standing on the balcony of the palace, beholds him as he approaches the city on his chariot, diffusing a beaming radiance. She breaks out at the sight of him into these words: "Happy the repose of the mother, happy the repose of the father, happy the repose of the wife, whose he is, such a husband!" The young man hears her words and thinks to himself: "well might she say that a blessed repose enters the hearts of a mother, when she beholds such a son, and blessed repose enters the heart of a father and the heart of a wife. But whence comes the repose which brings happiness to the heart?" And he gives the answer himself: "when the fire of lust is extinguished, when the fire of hatred and infatuation is extinguished. When ambition, error, and all sins and sorrows are extinguished, then the heart finds happy repose."

In his palace the prince was surrounded by beautiful, gaily-attired handmaids, who sought to dissipate his thoughts with music and dance: but he neither looks upon nor listens to them, and soon falls into sleep. He wakes up at night and sees by the light of the lamps those dancing-girls wrapt in slumber, some talking in their sleep, some with running mouths, and of others again the cloths have become disarranged and exposed repulsive deformities of the body. At this sight it was to him as if he were in a burial-place full of disfigured corpses, as if the house around

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* In the name Rahula there seems to be an allusion to Rahu, the sun and moon subduing (darkening) demon.

him were in flames. "Alas! danger surrounds me," he cried, "alas! distress surrounds me! Now is the time come for me to go on the great pilgrimage." Before hastening away, he thinks of his new-born son: "I will see my child." He goes to his wife's chamber, where she is sleeping on a flower-strewn couch, with her hand spread over the child's head. Then the thought occurs to him: "If I move her hand from his head to clasp my child, she will awake. When I shall have become Buddha, I shall return and see my son." His trusty steed Kanthaka is waiting outside, and thus the prince flies, seen by no human eye, away from wife and child and from his kingdom, out into the night, to find rest for his soul and for the world and the gods, and behind him follows Mara, the tempter, shadow-like, and watches till per chance a moment may come, when a thought of lust or unrighteousness, entering the struggling soul, will give him power over the hated enemy.

That is poetry; now listen to the bare prose, in which an older age speaks of the flight, or rather of the departure of Gautama, from his home:

> "The ascetic Gautama has gone from home into homelessness, while still young, young in years, in the bloom of youthful strength, in the first freshness of life. The ascetic Gautama, although his parents did not wish it, although they shed tears and wept, has had his hair and beared shaved, has put on yellow garments, and has gone from his home into homelessness."

Or, as it is put in another place: "Distressing is life at home, a state of impurity: freedom is in leaving home: while he reflected thus, he left his home."

It is necessary, in the face of the highly coloured poetical form into which later ages have thrown the history of Buddha's departure from Kapilavastu, to remember these unadorned fragments of the little which older generations knew or desired to know of these things.

After the early life passed at home comes the period of homelessness, of wandering ascetic life. Only in his case who has served the ties of home and family, can the effort to attain eternal blessings lead to success; such was the conception of that age.

Seven years of inquiry are stated to have passed from the

day when Gautama left his native town, till the consciousness of realization was imparted to him, till he felt himself to be the Buddha, the deliverer, and the preacher of deliverance to the worlds of gods and men.

He trusted himself during this period of seven years at first to the guidance of two successive spiritual teachers, to find what the language of that time termed "the highest state of sublime repose," the "unoriginated, the *Nirvana*, the eternal state." The path, in which these teachers directed him, must have been grounded on the production of pathological conditions of self-concentration, such as have in later Buddhism played a not unimportant part: conditions in which, by a long-continued observance of certain bodily discipline, the spirit seeks to divest itself of all concrete subject-matter, of every entity, of every conception, and, as is added, even of conceptionlessness.

Then he left these teachers unsatisfied, and travelled through the land of Magadha until he came to the town of Uruvela.* An old narrative puts these words into his mouth when he speaks of this wandering: "Then, O disciples, I thought within myself: truly this is a charming spot of earth, a beautiful forest: clear flows the river, with pleasant bathing-places, and fair lie the villages round about, to which one can go here are good quarters for one of high resolve, who is in search of salvation."

Then in the woods of Uruvela Gautama is said to have lived many years in severest discipline. It is described how he sat there, his tongue pressed against his palate, resolutely "checking, repressing, chastening" his aspirations, waiting the moment, when the supernatural illumination should come upon him. It comes not. He struggles for a still more perfect performance by imposing the greatest strains on his physical frame: he holds his breath: he denies himself nourishment. Five other ascetics are living in his neighbourhood: in astonishment at the resolution with which he pursues his mortifications, they wait to see will he be made partaker of the longed for enlightenment, in order that they may tread as his disciples the path of deliverance indicated by him. His body becomes attenuated by self-inflicted pain, but

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* Buddha Gaya, south of Patna. The oft-mentioned river Neranjara is there called Phalgu now. Cf Cunningham, "*Ancient Geography of India*," p. 457.

he finds himself no nearer the goal. He sees that self-mortifications cannot lead to enlightenment: so he takes nourishment again freely to regain his former strength. Then his five companions abandon him: he seems to them to have deserted his own cause, and there appears to be nothing more to hope for or of him. So Gautama remains alone.

One night, the old traditions narrate, the decisive turning point came, the moment wherein was vouchsafed the seeker the certainty of discovery. Sitting under the tree, since then named the Tree of Knowledge, he went through successively purer and purer stages of abstraction of consciousness, until the sense of omniscient illumination came over him: in all-piercing intuition he pressed on to apprehend the wanderings of spirits in the mazes of transmigration, and to attain the knowledge of the sources whence flows the suffering of the world, and of the path which leads to the extinction of this suffering

"When I apprehended this," he is reported to have said of this moment,"and when I beheld this, my soul was released from the evil of desire, released from the evil of earthly existence, released from the evil of error, released from the evil of ignorance. In the released awoke the knowledge of release: extinct is re-birth, finished the sacred course, duty done, no more shall I return to this world; this I knew."

This moment the Buddhist regard as the great turning-point in his life and in the life of the worlds of gods and men: the ascetic Gautama had become the Buddha, the awakened, the enlightened. That night which Buddha passed under the tree of knowledge,* on the banks of the river Neranjara, is the sacred night of the Buddhist world.

Thus the holy text narrates the history of the inner struggles of Gautama and his untiring pursuit of knowledge and peace. Is there any historical fact in this narrative?

We are here face to face with a question, on which the analysis of the historical critic is unable to return a clear and bold

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* Cunningham ("Archaeol Reports," 5) says of the *pipal* tree (Ficus religiosa) at Boudh Gaya, which is looked upon as being this tree: "The celebrated Bodhi tree still exists, but is very much decayed; one large stem, with three branches to the westward, is still green, but the other branches are barkless and rotten. The tree must have been renewed frequently as the present *pipal* is standing on a terrace at least thirty feet above the level of the surrounding country."

verdict, a decisive Yes or No.

The character of the sources does not of itself determine whether we here have historical fact or legend before us. In the authorities unquestionable truth is mixed up with just as unquestionable romance: the history of the attainment of Buddhahood does not bear any direct traces of being either the one or the other.

So much is clear that, granted even that Buddha had not experienced, and had not even professed to have experience, something analogous to this, still the existence of this narrative among the groups of his disciples can be readily understood. If he was the Buddha, if he possessed sacred knowledge, he must at some place and at some definite moment have become the Buddha, have attained that sacred knowledge, and before this moment there must have been—lengend-weaving fancy could scarcely have overlooked this conclusion—a period in which the consciousness that he was still far from his goal, dominated strongly and painfully. What can this period of bootless search have been like? At every step the disciples of Buddha had to contend against the tendencies of ascetics who expected to attain quietude through fasting and severe bodily discipline. It is not surprising that this opposition in which they felt themselves to be to these tendencies should have influenced the belief of the early Church regarding Buddha's own previous history: he, too, must, before he become partaker of the imperishable treasure of true deliverance, have sought for salvation in the mazes of bodily discipline, he must have surpassed all that Brahmans and devotees had accomplished before him in the way of self-mortification, and he must have realized for himself the fruitlessness of such a course, until he at last, turning from the false to the true path, became the Buddha.

It is, therefore, evident that the narrative concerned *may* be a myth: the conditions, which suffice to make the concoction of such a myth comprehensible, certainly exist. And this possibility of a purely mythical conception gains further support by the undoubted mythical character of the occurrences yet to be discussed, which followed on the attainment of Buddhahood.

But showing that a thing *may* be a myth is not equivalent to showing that it *is* a myth, and I am inclined to think that that which can be urged in favour of an opposite conception is by no

means without weight.

The coming of such a sudden turning-point in Buddha's inner life corresponds much too closely with what in all times similar natures have actually experienced under similar conditions, for us not to be inclined to believe in such an occurrence. In the most widely different periods of history the notion of a revolution or change of the whole man perfecting itself in one moment meets us in many forms: a day and hour it must be possible to determine, in which the unsaved and unenlightened becomes a saved and enlightened man: and if men hope and look for such a sudden, and probably also violent, breaking through of the soul to the light, they realize it in fact. Within the Christian Church we have the Methodists especially, but not they alone, who bear testimony to this. Furthermore, phenomena of this kind are not confined by any means to persons of a vulgar type, living in a dull religious atmosphere. On the contrary, nature which are endowed with the keenest spiritual sensibility, with the most versatile power of imagination, are especially susceptible of such experiences. A flash of thought, a sudden excitement to warm emotion or vivid imagination or a moment of tranquil breathing time following on times of internal strife, is metamorphosed for them into that opening of the heart, or that call by divine omnipotence, for which they were consciously or unconsciously waiting, and which is sufficient to give a new turn to their whole life.

In the age of which the sacred writings of the Buddhists give us a picture, and, we may add with probability, it Buddha's own time, the belief in a sudden illumination of the soul, in the fact of an internal emancipation perfecting itself in one moment, was universally prevalent: people looked for the "deliverance from death," and told one another with beaming countenance that the deliverance from death had been found: people asked how long it was till one striving for salvation is able to attain his goal, and gave one another to understand, with and without figure or parable, that of course the day and hour, in which the fruit of immortality will be given to man, are not in his power, but still the Master promised to his follower that, if he trod the right path, "after a short time that for which noble youths leave homes to lead a pilgrim life, the highest achievement of religious effort, would be vouchsafed to him, that he would yet in this life

apprehend the truth itself, and see it face to face." This visionary grasp of truth some pursued by mortification, others by abstraction of the mind, pushed to the utmost limit and accompanied by long-retention of the body in fixed postures, all waiting the moment in which the attainment of their aim would be clearly realized by them with absolute certainty. When any one came to regard his natural state as impermanent and dark, that to which he aspired, and which he, therefore, expected finally to actually realize, could not but appear to him to be a condition of purer internal illumination and self-knowledge, and with this condition of pure internal illumination was combined the consciousness of his own power to look, by visionary intuition, through the whole concatenation of the universe.

We can scarcely doubt that such a mode of viewing things prevailed among religious inquiries at Buddha's time. Whoever left his home and became a mendicant did so looking for the coveted fruit of enlightenment. May we not also surmise that similar expectation filled the heart of the Sakya youth, when he left his native town? That he then experienced within himself those struggles, those combats between hope and doubt, of which the history of those who have paved new paths for religious feeling and thought have so much to say? That after periods of intense mental, and why not also bodily, anguish there arose in him at a particular moment the feeling of clearer rest and internal certainty, and he laid hold on this as the longed-for illumination, as a token of deliverance come? That he thenceforward felt himself to be the Buddha, the one called by a universal law to be a follower of the Buddhas of bygone ages, and determined to bring to others the blessing which had been imparted to him?

If the process was anything like this, it cannot but have followed that Buddha at a later time communicated to the disciples, to whom he pointed out the path to holiness, these inner experiences also, through which he was conscious of having himself attained his goal: and though the memory of these communications may have received in the Church in the course of time a stamp of scholastic dogmatism, yet their original character must always have shone through. In this sense it is quite possible that this narrative may cover actual fact.

The historical inquirer cannot create certainties where there

are only potentialities. Let each individual come to a conclusion, or refrain from coming to a conclusion, as he thinks proper; let me be allowed, for my part, to declare my belief that, in the narrative of how the Sakya youth became the Buddha, there is really an element of historical memory.

II

Buddhism, like Jainism arose in the sixth century B.C. in the wake of Upamshadic speculations. This religion centres round the teachings of Gautama the Buddha, one of the greatest thinkers and reformers that the world has ever known.

The age (*i.e.*, the sixth century B.C.) into which Gautama was born was one of religious ferment. He and his contemporaries, Vardhamana Mahavira in India, Zoroaster in Persia, Socrates in Greece, and Confucious and Loa tse in China were the intellectual luminaries of the epoch, who by their sublime thought and teachings ushered in an era of critical understanding and spiritual enquiry.

As is well known. Gautama revolted against the existing orthodox Brahmanical system predominated by rituals and the ceremonies involving animal slaughter. He also deprecated the caste supremacy of the Brahmans. He was, however, not destructive in his outlook. Gifted with extraordinary intelligence and analytical powers, he accepted the best of the existing system and rejected what he did not consider useful or beneficial to a man to gain knowledge and emancipation. In formulating his religion, he was largely influenced by the liberal thinking of the Upanishadic sages, the prevailing idea of knowledge and Yoga practices (leading to mental concentration), the theory of Karma[1] and the value of a mendicant life. At the same time he denied the authority of the *Vedas* and declared the Vedic sacrifices as useless. In short, he was a great reformer whose system brought ethical principles to the forefront, emphasising the value of morality, concentration, and wisdom. As he influenced very greatly the religious thought in India, his advent has been rightly considered an event of phenomenal importance. He discovered a way of life[2] which can be followed "regardless of time, place and prevailing culture." He showed the path which leads to the cessation of suffering and attainment of knowledge and emanci-

pation.[3]

It was not some of the Brahmanic practices alone which were repugnant to Buddha, but he deprecated also the unethical thinking and theories of the non-Vedic teachers, mostly of Anga and Magadha of eastern India. The number of such teachers was quite numerous.[4] Of them, the names of Purana Kassapa, Makkhali Gosala, Ajita Kesakambali, Pakudha Kachchhayana, Sanjaya Bleatthiputta and Nigantha Nataputta were the most famous.[5]

Purana Kassapa advocated the doctrine of Akriyavada (theory of non-action). According to him, no good or bad results accrue from pious or impious acts. In the *Majjhima-nikaya,* Purana's teachings have been condemned as leading to moral depravity.[6]

Makkhali Gosala, the founder of the Ajivika sect, advocated fatalism. He held that everything was fixed and it was beyond man's power to alter or improve his position by his own exertion. Emancipation is a natural process which comes after a series of migrations from one existence to another. This doctrine is called *ahetuka* or *akriyadrishti* in the *Majjhima-nikaya.* The *Anguttara-nikaya* considers this doctrine as opposed to *Karma* (deed), *Kriya* (action) and *Virya* (energy).[7]

Ajita Kesakambali taught the doctrine of annihilation at death. After death the body disintegrate and merges in the element, *viz.*, earth, water, air and fire of which it was formed, and the *Indriiyas, i.e.* sense powers, pass into *akasa, i.e.* space. Thus, according to Ajita, there is no rebirth or transmigration. No acts, good or bad, produce any results. The *Majjhima-nikaya* declares Ajjita's teachings as materialistic, lending to improper thoughts and actions. Sanjaya-Belatthiputta was an agnostic or sceptic and he was condemned as he refused to give definite answers to fundamental questions and even to those relating to moral responsibility.

Pakudh Kachayana holds the seven elements, such as earth, water, fire, air, pleasure (*sukha*), pain (*dhukha*), and soul (*jiva*) as uncreated and permanent. Hence no action good or bad is effective. The doctrine of Pakudha has been described as *Akriyavada* or *Sasvatavada* by the Buddhists.[9]

The doctrine of the Niganthas have been referred to in the Buddhist texts as consisting of four restraints; to keep free from

passion and desire, to keep aloof from all kinds of traffic, to get rid of all kinds of *purigrahas* (ideas of possession), and to remain absorbed in knowledge and meditation on self. Since the Nighanthas laid emphasis on extreme physical mortification, the Buddhists considered their own system to be better than the former.[10]

It is thus apparent that there were many religious thoughts and doctrines current during the Buddha's time. While Brahmanism, though never completely free from ritualistic ceremonies, developed during this period the theory of *Atman* and Brahman (relationship between the individual soul and universal soul) and their identity, the non-Vedic systems held various theories of non-action, fatalism, etc. Some ascribed everything to chance and denied causation.

Gautama found none of these systems satisfactory. Though he retained some of the accepted doctrines of his time, his main emphasis was on non-craving, good conduct, concentration, and wisdom. He held that in the phenomenal world everything is bound by a cause, and he preached the noble eight-fold path or middle path which leads to the cessation of suffering and attainment of *Nirvana* or knowledge. His teachings produced a deep impression on the minds of the people and spread not only throughout the length and breadth of India, but became popular in the neighbouring countries, like Afghanistan, Central Asia, China, Korea, Japan, Ceylon, Nepal, Tibet, Burma, Thailand, Viet Nam, Indonesia, etc.

The life of Buddha presents a fascinating story. The facts of his life are, however, to be gathered from various sources,[11] as there is no connected account left in any particular place or text.

According to traditions preserved in various texts, Gautama Buddha was born in Lumbini, now in Nepalese territory. His father was Suddhodhana, one of the ruling chiefs of Kapilavastu. His mother was Maya who died seven days after his birth. He was brought up by his stepmother Mahaprajapati, who was his mother's younger sister. His childhood name was Siddharatha, Gautama being his family name. The learned Brahmins examined the signs on his body and predicted his future greatness as a perfectly accomplished Buddha or as a universal monarch.

As prophesied, Gautama became more and more contempla-

tive and indifferent to worldly matters as he grew. Afraid of this, Suddhodhana married him at the age of sixteen to a beautiful girl called Yasodhara in order to turn away his thoughts from renunciation, built beautiful palaces and gardens for him and provided him with all the other luxuries of life.

Gautama, according to legends, spent a life of worldly pleasures till a turning point came at the age of twenty-nine when on successive occasions, as he drove on his chariot through the pleasure garden, he saw an old person, a sick person, a dead body and a cheerful *Sannyasi*. These encounters convinced him of the futility of living any longer of a life of ease and comfort. He became determined to renounce the world and lead the life of an ascetic to escape from misery and old age. To add to the conflict within him a son was born to him. He considered the birth of a son as an additional bondage to life and called him Rahula (an obstacle).

Seven days after Rahula's birth, Gautama left home at the dead of night to find out the means of overcoming worldly miseries. Journeying from place to place, he reached Rajagriha, the capital of the Magadhan king Bimbsara. From there he came to Ajara Kalama and later Udrka Ramaputra, two renowned philosophers of the time. In a short time he mastered all that they taught him regarding the different stages of meditation. But this did not satisfy him and he left them to find a path of deliverance through his own exertions. With this determination he came to Uruvela near Gaya and there selected a delightful spot near the river Neranjara for his meditation. There he practised severe austerities for six years and was reduced to a skeleton. Yet real knowledge eluded him. He then realized that the practice of austerities was not the way to achieve knowledge. He, therefore, began to partake of food for the sustenance of his body. Then as he sat having resolved to attain enlightenment, Mara, the enemy of liberation upset him in various ways.[12] But Mara failed to distract his mind and fled away with his hosts. Bodhisattava Gautama then sank into deeper contemplation. "He acquired in the first watch of the night the knowledge of previous existences, in the middle hour of the night the divine vision, in the last part of the night the knowledge of causative process. Thus he attained omniscience."

On having attained knowledge, Gautama, now called

Buddha, was in doubt whether he should preach the profound truth he had discovered to anyone in this world steeped in darkness. Then Mahasahampati Brahmi appeared and exhorted him to preach the doctrine to his erstwhile five companions who left him at Gaya to settle at Sarnath. He addressed these monks as follows:[13]

> These two extremes, O Monks, are not to be practised by one who has gone forth from the world. What are the two? That conjoined with passion, low, vulgar, common, ignoble, and useless and that conjoined with self-torture, painful, ignoble and useless. Avoiding these two extremes, the Tathagata has gained the knowledge of the Middle way, which gives insight, knowledge and tends to calm, to insight, enlightenment, Nirvana.

Now this, O Monks, is the noble truth of pain: birth is painful, old age is painful, sickness is painful, death is painful, Contact with unpleasant things is painful, separation from pleasant things is painful, and not getting what one wishes is painful, in short the five *Skandhas* of grasping is painful.

Now this, O Monks, is the noble truth of the cause of pain, that craving, which leads to rebirth, combined with pleasure, and lust, finding pleasure here and there, namely the craving for passion, the craving for existence, the craving for non-existence.

Now this, O monks, is the noble truth of the cessation of pain, the cessation without a remainder of that craving, abandonment, forsaking, release, non-attachment.

Now this, O monks, is the noble truth of the way that leads to the cessation of pain: this is the noble eight-fold path, namely, right views, right intention, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, right concentration.

On hearing the sermon, the five monks, namely Kondanna, Vappa, Bhaddiya, Mahanama and Assaji attained the knowledge and received the ordination (Upasampada).

Buddha then gave to these monks a discourse on the "non-existence of soul."[14] On hearing the words of the Buddha, all five monks became free from *dsavas, i.e.* they attained full enlightenment as arhats.

With the first sermon delivered to the five monks at Sarnath

known as the *dharma-chakra pravartana i.e.* setting in motion the wheel of law, started the missionary activities of Buddha, which lasted for forty-five years.

His wisdom and personality drew adherents from all sections of the people. He was received with the highest regard wherever he went. Among his followers were some of the prominent rulers of the time, such as king Bimbsara of Magadha, and Presenajit of Kosala. Ajatasatru (son of Bimbsara) who was not well-disposed towards him in the beginning became dependant afterwards and adopted his teachings. The Bharhut panels of the second century B.C. contain representations of Ajatasatru and Prasenajit paying homage to Buddha indicated symbolically. The new faith acquired a wide popularity in the lifetime of the Master himself. As the textual and other traditions show, Buddhism gained a strong foothold in Kapilavastu, Magadha, Kasi, Kosla and Videha, in the countries of the Bhaggas and the Koliyas, in Anga, Champa, Kausambi, Mathura, Avanti and several other countries.

Gautama Buddha was no less an organizer than a preacher. He established the monastic order on a strong footing with a set of rules to be followed by his disciples. While the rules for the monks were difficult and many, those for the laymen were few, namely the *panchasilas*.

The life of Buddha, though otherwise peaceful, was disturbed by the mischievous activities of his cousin Devadatta. The latter attempted to take away the leadership of the church by killing Buddha with the help of Ajatasatru, son of Bimbsara. The plot of Devadatta failed. As stated above, Ajatasatru became repentant and sought refuge in Buddha.

Several other events took place during the last days of Buddha. The Sakya clan of Kapilavastu to which Buddha belonged was exterminated by Vidudabha, son of Presenajit of Kosala. Ajatasatru made preparations for the conquest of the Visalians. But the war was averted at Buddha's instance. Shortly after these events, Buddha, who was then about seventy-nine years of age, left Rajagriha and came to Nalanda with a large retinue of monks. Thus began his last journey.

From Nalanda, he came to Pataligrama, where he gave a discourse to the laity. From there he came to Kotigrama and then

to Nadika. At all these places he delivered discourses on duty, self-transcendence and insight. From Nadika he came to Vaisali, where he lived in the mango grove of the well-known courtesan, Amrapali. At her request he took meals at her house and she made a gift of her mango grove to the order which was gladly accepted. From there the Blessed One came to Veluva where he had an attack of severe illness. Not wishing to die without leaving his words to guide the *Bhikkus*, he overcame his illness through his own powers.

He exhorted the monks of Vaishali saying: "Subject to decay are compound things, strive with earnestness. In no long time the Tathagata will attain *Nirvana*."[15]

Journeying from place to place Buddha came to Pava, where he was invited to a dinner by Chunda, a hereditary smith. Immediately afterwards he had an attack of dysentery. Buddha bore the pain with patience and came to Kusinara. On the way, he converted a young Mallian named Pukkusa who was formerly a disciple of Alara Kalama. On reaching Kusinara he lay down on a couch spread between two *sala* trees by Ananda. The trees burst into blossoms although it was not the flowering season and spirits hovered round the bed.

The last hours were spent in giving useful counsel and instructions to Ananda who was weeping at the impending death of the Master. "Do not weep," he said to Ananda."Have I not told you before, monks, that this is in the very nature of things near and dear to us that we must part from them. All that is born, brought into being, and put together carried within itself the seeds of dissolution. How then is it possible that such a being should not be dissolved. Be earnest in effort and you too shall be free from the great evils and from ignorance."

As the last watch of the night drew near, the Lord said to his brethren: "Subject to decay are all compound things; strive with earnestness." These were his last words. Then he passed through a series of trances and entered into *Mahaparinirvana*, "the stage of the cessation of consciousness and feeling."

Very little is known of the history of Buddhism after the death of Buddha till the rise of Asoka. According to tradition, however, a few weeks after the Buddha's death, a council was held at Rajagriha under the presidentship of Mahakasyapa. The

immediate object of this session seems to have been to rehearse the *dharma* and *Vinaya* rules to prevent arbitrary interpretation or misinterpretation of them by any unscrupulous monks like Subhadra and the like. Five hundred monks including Ananda were admitted into the council, and as desired by Mahakasyapa, Upali narrated the *Vinaya* rules and Ananda recited the *dharma* or *Sutras*. Thus the first council seems to have determined in a systematic way the creed of the church after the passing of the Master.[16] The expenditure for this council was provided by king Ajatasatru of Magadha.

The chief propagators of the faith during this time seem to have been Mahakasyapa, Ananda and Rahula. As to Ananda, Buston[17] writes that he entrusted his disciple to propagate the faith after his death. Further, he is said to have converted before his death 500 Brahmanical anchorites including Madhyantika who preached the religion in Kashmir.[18] Buddhism does not seem to have received much royal patronage during the rule of the next few monarches of Magadha, namely, Udayibhadda, Munda, Nagadasaka and Susunaga.[19]

The next important event in the history of Buddhism is the second Buddhist council held during the rule of Kalasoka, son and successor of Susunaga. This council was held as a protest against the unorthodox views of the Vaishali monks with regard of the ten points of discipline. The ten points of indulgence opposed to the *vinaya* rules are: (1) *Singilona-Kappa* (carrying of salt in a horn for future use); (2) *Dvamgula-Kappa* (taking food after midday); (3) *Gamantara-Kappa* (the practice of going to a neighbouring village and taking a second meal there); (4) *Avasa-Kappa* (the observance of the *Uposathas* in the different places in the same parish); (5) *Anumati-Kappa* (asking for a *post facto* sanction of a deed); (6) *Achinna Kappa* (the use of precedents as authority); (7) *Amathita-Kappa* (the drinking of buttermilk after meals); (8) *Jalogim patum* (the drinking of fermented palm-juice) (9) *Adasakam-Nisidanam* (using as a seat a rag which has no fringe); (10) *Jataruparajatam* (the acceptance of gold and silver).[20]

These rules are not in conformity with the *Patimokkha* (monastic code) the monks are to follow strictly. So the laxity of the Vaishali monks was highly opposed by the orthodox group of the Church, especially by venerable Yasa of Kausambi. When his appeal to the Vajjin monks failed, he contacted through

messengers the monks of Pattheya and Avanti, and he came himself to discuss the matter with the venerable Sambhuta Sanavasi at Ahygamga. In the meantime sixty Theras of Pattheya and eighty Theras of Avanti also arrived in Ahogamga to discuss the questions. As the questions were hard and subtle, it was decided to elicit the opinion of the Sangha-Thera, Revanta who used to reside in Soreyya. Both the rival groups of monks, *i.e.* Yasa and his party on one side and Vajjian monks on the other, met Revata at Sahajati. But as the matter could not be settled there, a council was held at Vaishali. This council was attended by seven hundred monks. But a committee of eight members, four from the orthodox party of the west (*i.e.* Yasa's party) and four from the unorthodox party of the east (*i.e.* the Vajiian monks) was formed to go into the dispute. The ten points were discussed and declared unlawful.

Thus the monks of the eastern party (*i.e.* Vaishali and Megadha) were excommunicated. But the members of this party were in majority and they held another council and supported the ten points. They were now called the *Mahasanghikas* (the party of the great assembly) and the western party as *Sthaviravadin*. From this time Magadha was the centre of the *Mahasanghikas* and *Sravasti* the centre of *Sthaviravada*. The second council is said to have been held in 386 B.C.

Kalasoka's son and grandson, Surasena and Nanda, seem to have patronised Buddhism. Surasena supported the *Bhikkus* of different regions and offered gifts to the Chaityas. King Nanda also seems to have made lavish gifts to the Chaityas. According to the *Manju-sri Mulakapa* Nanda embraced Buddhism towards the end of his reign and died as a true Buddhist.[21]

Nanda was dethroned by Chandragupta Maurya who started the celebrated Maurya dynasty. Chandragupta Maurya and his son Bindusara do not seem to have had any special predilections towards Buddhism. The next ruler, the great Emperor Asoka, became deeply interested in the religion and contributed much to its growth and diffusion.[22] Tradition avers that Asoka was cruel and aggressive in his early days, but ultimately he took refuge in Buddha, *Dharma* and *Sangha*. In fact, the reign of Asoka was a landmark in the history of Buddhism. The patronage of so powerful a king who is said to have adopted Buddhism during his ninth regnal year after the Kalinga war

(which involved a huge massacre and bloodshed) proved to be a great stimulus to the growth and spread of the faith.

As his inscriptions would indicate beyond doubt, Asoka paid visits and did honour to the places associated with the events of Buddha's life. According to the Rock Edict VIII he repaired to Sambodhi (the place of Buddha's enlightenment in Gaya) in the tenth year of his reign. He continued his *dharma-yatra* (pious tour) also subsequently as is evident from the Nigliva and Rummindei pillar inscriptions in the Nepal *terai*. The Nigliva pillar inscription speaks of his visit in his fourteenth regnal year to Rummindei and the enlargement by him of the second stupa of the Buddha Kanakkamuni. The Rummindei pillar inscription informs us of his visit in the twentieth regnal year to the place Buddha's birth in Lumbini. On the occasion of this visit he granted exemption of the village from the payment of the religious cess. He also declared that this village was to pay one-eighth of the produce as land revenue instead of one sixth according to the prevailing practice.

His deep interest in the religion is also revealed by the contents of the Minor Rock Edicts. The Minor Rock Edict No. 1 speaks not only of his intimate association (at the time of the issuing of this Edict) with the Buddhist Sangha, but also contains the text of his order for the expulsion of the heretical monks. The Minor Rock Edict III (The Calcutta Bariat Edict) speaks of his deep faith in the Buddha, *Dharma* and *Sangha* and refers to the sacred texts presented by him for the monks and nuns, lay men and women.[23] The reading of these texts would elevate their mind and soul. Further, his edicts on pillars at Sarnath, Kausambi and Sanchi issue a stern warning to the monks who would cause dissension in the Church. "Whosoever breaks up the Church, be it monk or nun, shall be clad in white raiment and be compelled to live in what is not a residence [of the clergy]. Thus should this order be respectfully communicated to the congregation of the monks and the congregation of the nuns."[24]

Asoka appointed special officers called *Dharma-mahamatras* who were to look after the spiritual well-being of the people. His message of concord, tolerance, piety and morality seems to have been well received also in the dominions bordering his empire. His own son Mahendra went to Ceylon to preach the gospel of

the Buddha. It is said that his daughter Sanghamitra also joined her brother in missionary activities.

Asoka is also credited with the erection of an enormous number of stupas over the holy relics of the Buddha. That the Buddhist religion and its church engaged the close attention of Asoka is also evident from the accounts of the third council[25] held under his aegis at Pataliputra. It appears that the points of disagreement over the interpretation of the *Vinaya* rules deepened further between the *Mahasanghikas* and the *Thervadins* in his time and he was anxious to maintain the integrity of the *Sangha*. We have already seen that the *Mahasanghikas* emerged as a powerful body after the second Buddhist council, held in Vaishali during the time of Kalasoka and as the time passed, their popularity seems to have extended towards the other regions of India. Gradually, their main centre of activities shifted to the Andhradesa.

This council is mentioned only in the *Atthakathas* and the Ceylonese chronicles. Hence, according to certain scholars, this council seems to have been a sectarian affair only of the *Theravadins*. As the accounts go, Asoka and his preceptor *Moggaliputta Tissa*, in order to stop the growth of the schisms and heretical doctrines among the monks, convened an assembly of the *bhikkus* of different groups. Those who set forth false doctrines, such as of the external soul, etc. were expelled, and those who held that the religion taught by Buddha was one of *Vibhajjavada* were hailed to be followers of the true doctrine of Buddha. Thus, the Buddhist Church was purged of the heretical group of monks, and *Tissa* became the head of the *Theravada* community.[26]

Moggaliputta Tissa then convened a council of a thousand *Theravadi* monks and compiled the *Tripitaka* with their help. The doctrines of the heretical monks were also discussed in this council and were declared unacceptable and discarded. Thus the *Kathavastu*, refuting the heretical doctrines, was compiled.

An important outcome of this council was the despatch of missionaries to different countries for the propagation of Buddhism. As related in the *Mahavamsa* (Ceylonese chronicle) *Moggaliputta Tissa* deputed for this purpose *Majjhantika* (or *Madhyandina*) to Kashmir-Gandhara; Mahadeva to Mahisha-mandala (Mahishmati, south of Vindhyas); Rakhhita to Vanavasi

(North Canara); Dhammarakkhita (a Yonaka) to Aparanta (*i.e.* Alor, Broach, and Sopara); Mahadhammarakkhita to Maharashtra; Maharakkhita to Yona countries (foreign settlements in the North-western Frontier province of undivided India); Majjhima to Himavanta; Sona with Uttara to Suvarnabhumi (probably a place in India); and Mahinda to Tambapanni (Ceylon).[27]

The story of the missionary activities of the above monks during Asoka's time seems to be by and large true. The discovery of a relic casket (second century B.C.) at Sanchi lends support to it inasmuch as the inscription on the casket refers to Majjhima and Kassapagotia as *acharyas* or propagators of the faith in the Himalayan countries.[28]

From the preceding it appears that the reign of Asoka was a glorious epoch in the history of Buddhism. He was not only personally interested in Buddhism, but also did much for its propagation in India and outside. He supported the *Theravada* doctrines and took measures preventing the *Sanghabheda* or dissension in the church.

The sons and successors of Asoka do not seem to have been much interested in Buddhism. The last of the Mauryan rulers was Brihadratha Maurya who was assassinated by his general, Pushyamitra Sunga, who seems to have championed the cause of Brahmanism. Certain Buddhist texts describe Pushyamitra as having destroyed many Buddhist stupas and *Viharas*. Regarding the persecutions of the Buddhists traditions differ and it is not possible to determine to what extent Pushyamitra was responsible. Whatever it may be, Buddhism does not seem to have experienced any great setback during this period inasmuch as it saw the erection of many stupas in Bharhut, Bodhgaya and many other places. One of the stupas at Sanchi excavated in the nineteenth century was found to contain the relics of two important disciples of Buddha, Sariputra and Maudgalyayana.[29] The sculptured panels of Sanchi and Bharhut contain many representations of Jataka stories, the previous lives of Buddha and scenes from Buddha's last life.

The Sungas were succeeded in the north by the Kanvas who, like their predecessors, had no special predilection for Buddhism. But their contemporaries in the south, *i.e.* the Satavahanas, seem to have extended their support to and bestowed munificence on the Buddhist establishments in Amaravati and the

neighbouring regions.

Whatever may be the dynastic changes in India after the fall of the all-India empire of the Mauryas and whatever may be the personal faiths of the kings, Buddhism by this time was firmly established all over India (as is attested by the literary and archaeological sources) including the foreign dominions of the north and northwest.

As is well known, the Indo-Greek ruler, Menander (c. 114 B.C.) was deeply influenced by Buddhist philosophy. Some scholars believe that he was converted to Buddhism by the venerable Nagasena, a great Buddhist philosopher of the Sthaviravada School. The famous Pali book *Milindapanha*, and the questions of Milinda, seem to lend support to this view. This book contains Milinda's (Menander's) questions and Nagasena's answers to them.[30]

Before we proceed, it may be of interest to recall the Tibetan historian Taranath's account[31] of the spread of Buddhism in India during post-Mauryan India. Though Taranath's account cannot be verified from any other source, yet there is nothing improbable in what he says. According to Taranath, Upagupta, the celebrated Buddhist monk of Asoka's time, was ordained at Mathura by Dhitika who was a native of Ujjayini, Dhitika spread the religion far and wide. He converted the Tukhara king Minara and Buddhism was firmly established in Tukhara as a result of the missionary activities of the monks from Kashmir. These monks received support from Minara and his son Imhasa.

After the conversion of Minara, Dhitika, as Taranath continues, came to Kamarupa (Assam) and established the religion there. After this he came to preach Buddhism in Malava and Ujjayini in the West. Dhitika's spiritual successor was Kala or Krishna and the latter's disciple was Sudarsana. They preached Buddhism in Sindh and Kashmir. Krishna is also credited with the task of spreading the faith in south India, Ceylon and China. He was followed by Posadha.[32]

Reverting to historical discussions based mainly on epigraphical sources, it may be pointed out that Buddhism continued to receive the attention of the people including the foreign population of north-west India during the period subsequent to Menander's reign. The Swat Relic Vase Inscription records the establishment of the relics of the Lord Sakyamuni for

the purpose of the security of many people (*bahujana-sthitaye_*) by Theodoros, the Meridarkh.[33] This, according to the paleography of the letters, is one of the oldest Kharoshthi inscriptions and can be safely placed in the first century B.C.

Meridarkh, as Konow has suggested, is a Greek title. So, it is apparent that Theodoros belonged to a period of Greek rulers preceding the Parthians and Sakas. He was probably a district officer in a region which included the Kabul territory or Arachosia or Gandhara.[34]

The Taxila copper plate inscription in Kharoshthi also mentions a person (name lost) with the title Meridarkh, who together with his wife founded a stupa in honour of his mother and father for the presentation of respectful offering.[35] Further, the Kharoshthi inscription of the Tirath Rock on the border of Swat Kohistan, ascribable to *circa* first century B.C. on paleographic grounds, also points to the popularity of Buddhism in the realm of Greek supremacy.[36]

It is interesting to note that the inscription in question occurs below a pair of footprints, which are of Buddha (*Bodhasa Sakamunisa Padani*). In this account of Udayan, Fa-Hien refers to a spot where Buddha came and left the footprints "which are long and short according to the ideas of the beholder." Hiuen Tsang also speaks of a large flat stone with Buddha's foot-prints. he locates it on the north bank of the Swat river "thirty li to the south west of the spring of Naga Apalala, the reputed source of the river."[37]

Among the Sakas also, there were many who were devoted to Buddhism. The Taxila copper-plate of Patika would show that in the year 78, during the reign of the Great Moga, Patika, son of Kshaharata, Liaka Kushulaka established in Taxila a relic of the lord Sakyamuni and a Sangharama, through Rohinimitra, who was overseer for Sangharama, for the worship of all Buddhas, for the increase of the life and power of the Kshatrapa.[38]

Liaka Kushulaka held sway in and near Taxila. He was a Saka ruler while Moga was the Saka suzerain. Paleographically, the inscription is to be attributed to the end of the second century B.C.[39]

Again, it may be mentioned here that Ayasia Kamuca, the chief queen of the Mhakshatrapa Rajuvula established the relic of Lord Sakyamuni, the Buddha, a stupa and a Sangharama for

the order of the four quarters of the Sarvastivadins.[40] Paleographically the inscription is to be attributed to c. 5-10 A.D. It is significant to note that the record ends with honour to all the Buddhas, the law, the order and the Sakastana.

The above records show beyond doubt the popularityh of Buddhism, especially of the Sarvastivadins, in the north-western region. In the interior of India, *i.e.* in Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, and Bihar as well as in the south, especially in the Andhra country, there grew up as already noted above, in the second-first century B.C. many Buddhist stupas with railings and monasteries which show how deeply a large portion of the Indian population were interested in popularising the faith. In north India, the early centuries of the Christian era ushered in a new epoch in the history of Buddhism. This period, as a result of the patronage of the Kushanas witnessed spread of the religion in Central Asia and China. Further, it saw also doctrinal developments leading to the emergence of the Mahayana Buddhism to be described later.

The greatest of the Kushana rulers was Kanishka. According to the numismatic evidence, he was eclectic in his religious outlook. Towards the end of his career he seems to have accepted Buddhism as his personal faith. Whatever it may be, his deep interest in the religion is indicated by various archaeological and literary sources including the testimony of the Chinese pilgrims. His services to Buddhism can to a very great extent be compared to those of Asoka the Maurya who preceded him by about 300 years.

Kanishka ruled over a vast empire comprising Kabul, Gandhara, Sindh, North-Western India, Kashmir, and a part of Madhyadesha as far as Magadha. The *Rajatarangini*, the *Kalpanamanditika* and the Chinese (later Han) annals seem to refer to Kanishka's political sway in Khotan. Hiuen Tsang's account also describes Kanishka as governing a territory even to the east of Tsung-ling mountains.[41] Further, Hiuen Tsang refers to the Central Asian princes as being kept as hostages in Kanishka's court.

Kanishka built his capital in Peshawar which was an important centre of Buddhist art and religion. He erected there a large stupa which has been described in glorious terms by the Chinese pilgrims. Cunningham and Fourcher located the

Kanishka Stupa in the mounds of the Shah-ji-ki Dheri outside the Ganj Gate of Peshawar. Dr Spooner in the course of his excavations of the mound has confirmed this location of the stupas as suggested by Cunningham and Foucher.[42]

The stupa was destroyed and rebuilt several times. As found in the excavations, its base is square, measuring about 195 feet on each side, "with massive towers at the corners" and projections bearing stair-cases on each of the four faces. The sides of the stupa were embellished with stucco sculptures. According to the Chinese pilgrims, the stupa was surmounted by an iron-pillar with twenty-five gilded discs.[43]

Dr. Spooner who discovered the extensive ruins of the stupa found in it a relic chamber containing an inscribed metal relic casket with sacred bones. The inscription states that the "casket was made for the acceptance of the teachers of the Sarvastivada sect" and that one Agisala was architect in Kanishka's Vihara.[44] Kanishka's allegiance to Buddhism is indicated also by the presence of the Buddha figure on some of his coins.

The greatest event of Buddhist interest during Kanishka's reign was the summoning of a Buddhist council under his patronage. This council, known as the Fourth Council in Buddhist tradition, was held to settle the doctrinal differences affecting the Buddhist Sanghas. The tradition of this council is preserved mainly in the account of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang.

It is said that in order to ascertain the true doctrine, Kanishka, at the instance of the venerable Parsva, convoked a council attended by 500 monks representing various sects into which the Buddhists came to be divided this time The venue of the council was either Jalandhar or Kashmir. Kanishka built a monastery for the monks and invited them to compose commentaries on the *Tripitakas*. The Council "composed 100,000 stanzas of *Upadesa sastras* explanatory of the canonical *sutras*, 100,000 stanzas of *Vinaya-vibhasha sastras*, explanatory of the *Vinaya*, and 100,000 of *Abhidharma-Vibhasa sastras*, explanatory of the *Abhidharma* ... King Kanishka caused the treatises, when furnished, to be written out on copper plates and enclosed these in stone boxes which he deposited in a tope made for the purpose."[45]

According to certain traditions, Asvaghosha, the author of the *Buddhacharita*, the *Saundarananda*, and the *Sariputraprakarana* (the fragments of the *Sariputrapakarana* have been found in Central Asia) seems to have flourished in the court of Kanishka, in the first century A.D. His *Buddhacharita* (Doings of Buddha) written in ornate *kavya* style describes the life of Buddha from his birth to enlightenment. The *Saundaranda* describe the conversion of his step brother, Nanda. The *Sarjputraprakarana*, which has survived in incomplete form was a play or drama of nine acts, having the conversion of Sariputra and Maudgalyayana to Buddhism. The Chinese and Tibetan sources attribute a few more works, including the *Gandistotra* and *Vajrashuchi* to Asvaghosha.[46]

Kanishka was succeeded by his son Huvishka. The latter, like his father, was eclectic in his religious outlook, and Buddhism flourished side by side with other religions during his reign. A Buddhist pillar inscription ascribed to the year 47, records the gift of the monk Jivaka (who was a native of Udiyana) to the Vihara of Maharaja Rajatiraja Devaputra Huvishka.[47]

Huvishka's successor was Vasudeva. Though he seems to have been completely Hinduised in his outlook, Buddhism and Jainism continued to enjoy popularity during his reign. Two records of Vasudeva's region are significant with regard to the history of Buddhism. One of them from Mathura dated in the year 67 of Vasudeva's reign mentions the erection of an image of Sakyamuni for the acceptance of the Mahasanghika teachers.[48] The other record of the year 77 records the gift of the monk Jivaka of Udiyana at the Vihara of Devaputra Huvishka. This monk seems to be the same as one who made a similar gift[48] at Huvishka's monastery in the Kushana year 47.

The Kushana power began to decline during the rule of Vasudeva as a result of the onslaught of the Sassanian Shahpur I. During the early centuries of the Christian era, Buddhist activity on a large scale was concentrated in the Andhradesa. It coincided with the rise of Nagarjuna, the propounder of the Madhyamika school of philosophy. It is well known how the Mahasanghika school came to be established in South India.

Nagarjuna, considered to be the first man to have explained the Mahyana philosophy in a systematic manner in the *Prajnaparamita-sutra*, was born in Vidarbha or south Kosala

towards the end of the second century A.D. He is credited with preaching Buddhism in Orissa and south India. According to Taranath he constructed monasteries in Orissa and other countries and was responsible for erection of railings around the shrine of Dhanyakataka.

Professor R. Kimura summarizes the other facts[50] about Nagarjuna's life from various sources as follows:

> At last he came to Kosala, his native place and made that place the centre of his propagandism. At that time the king of Kosala was Sadavahana or Satavahana, who belonged to the Andhra dynasty. Hiuen Tsang tells us that Satavahana greatly prized and esteemed Nagarjuna when he was at the Sangharama built by Asoka, king Satavahana provided him with a city gate hut. For the sake of Nagarjuna, the King is said to have tunnelled out the Brahmagiri Rock and built a big rock temple which was 300 li distant from the Brahmagiri Rock. He also wrote many *Sastras* and commentaries. Under the patronage of Satavahana he refuted all heretical doctrines and clarified the Mahayana system. Southern Kosala became the centre of Buddhism at that time and after Nagarjuna, Kanadeva or Aryadeva, an eminent disciple of Nagarjuna became a great teacher not at all inferior to his master.

Aryadeva, who also was a Brahmana of Southern India and flourished in the middle of the third century A.D. helped Nagarjuna in the propagation of the Madhyamika doctrine.

From archaeological and other sources it is evident that Buddhism was popular over an extensive region in Southern India during the period under review. The major Buddhist sites of the region include Bhattiprolu, Amaravati, Jaggayyapreta, Nagarjunakonda, Goli, Garikapadu, Guntapalli, Ghantasala Salihundam and several other places.[51] Most of these places are situated in the Guntur and Krishna districts of the Andhra Pradesh. In the Repelle Taluk of the Guntur District, there was erected a Stupa entirely of solid brick. During excavations in 1922 by A Rea, many interesting objects including three inscribed votive caskets, each having a stone and crystal reliquary with relics and jewels were found. The Brahmi scripts of the inscriptions on the caskets would attribute them to about

the time of Asoka.[52]

Amaravati, also in the Guntur District, was a very important centre of Buddhism[53] from the second century B.C. to the early third century A.D. The *Mahasanghikas* seem to have migrated here soon after the second Buddhist Council of Vaisali. The famous Stupa of Amaravati called Mahachetiya in inscriptions was first build about 200 B.C. Later it was enlarged till it was completed about 250 A.D. It is held that a grand railing was added to it by Nagarjuna's endeavour about 150 A.D.

As in the case of the railings of Bharhut and Sanchi in northern India (second-first centuries B.C.) the railings of Amaravati contain beautiful carvings depicting scenes from Buddha's life.

The inscriptions on the Amaravati sculptures throw considerable light on the history of Buddhism. They mention monks (*bhadatas*), elders (*theras*). mendicants (*pendapatikas*), lay worshippers (*Uvasaka* and *Uvasikas*), disciples, male and female (*antevasika* and *anihevasikas*), preachers of law (*dhammikas*) and various others as donors. Further, various schools of Buddhism are mentioned in these inscriptions. They are the Chetiyakas, Rajagirikas, Siddhathikas, Pubbaseliyas, and Avaraseliyas.[54]

Almost of the same period, *i.e.* the early phase of the Amaravati stupa (*i.e.* the second century B.C.) is the stupa of Jaggayyapeta on the bank of the Krishna of which some sculptured fragments have survived. The style of these sculptures is similar to those of the early phase of Amaravati.

Excavations at Nagarjunakonda have brought to light extensive ruins of structures, carvings and inscriptions of *circa* third and fourth centuries which throw considerable light on the history of Buddhism in South India. Apart from the secular and Brahmanical structures, more than thirty Buddhist establishments came into existence here during the rule of the Ikshvaku king, Vasishthiputra, Chamtamlua in South India, Mathariputra Virapurushadatta, Vasishthiputra Ehuvala Chamtamula, and Rudrapurushadatta.

All the datable Buddhist structures came into existence between the sixth and the eighteenth regnal year of Virapurushadatta. The Mahachaitya of Nagarjunakonda built in the sixth regnal year of Virapurushadatta received the patronage and munificence of the pious lady Chamtasri, the sister of

Vasishthiputra Chamtamula:

> The Mahavihara and the apsidal chaityagriha (stupa shrine)[55] meant for a much smaller stupa, were set up respectively in the fifteenth and eighteenth regnal years of the same king for the Aparamahaviharseliya Sect. Some structures nearby must have come into existence between the sixth and the fifteenth regnal years, for one Bodhisri, a lay worshipper from Govagama, donated an apsidal stupa shrine in the fourteenth regnal year of Virapurushadatta to the Ceylonese monastery on the Chuladhammagiri.

The inscriptions of Nagarjunakonda mention at least five Buddhist sects: the Theravadins, Mahavihara-vasins of Ceylon, the Mahisasakas, Bahusrutiyas and Aparamahaviharaseliya. The existence of the Ceylonese Buddhist sects and monks in Nagarjunakonda is proved beyond doubt by the inscriptions.

The Buddhist ruins of Goli, Ghantasala and Gummiddiuru, and several other remaining sites also speak of the wide popularity of Buddhism in Southern India during the second-third centuries A.D.

In Western India also, Buddhism was popular over a wide region as the various archaeological remains would support. At Ajanta, some of the caves, 9 and 10, were excavated during the second-first century B.C. A principal wall painting of the period is the Shaddanta Jataka in Cave 9. Some of the caves and sculptures of Pitalkhora, depicting Yaksha figures and scenes from Buddha's life belong to the same period, *i.e.* the second century B.C. At Nasik there is a group of twenty-three caves ascribable from the second century B.C. to the second century A.D.[56]

Kanheri was for a long time an important centre of Buddhism in Western India. Some of the Kanheri caves, as is evident from inscriptions, can be attributed to the reign of Gautamputra Satakarni about 180 A.D.[57] The Chaitya hall of Karle dates from the 1st century B.C. An ancient inscription found here describes it as the most excellent rock mansion in Jambudvipa.

Karle seems to have been an important centre of the Mahasanghikas in the second century A.D. as is indicated by two epigraphs of the cave temple here. One of these inscriptions

records the gift of the village of Karajika by Gautamiputra Satakarni to the monks of the Valuraka caves for the support of the school of the Mahasanghikas. The other inscription of the time of Sri Vasihthiputra Sripulumavi records the gift of a nine celled hall to the school.[58]

Apart from the above, Bhaja, the earliest Chaitya hall, dating from the second century B.C., the caves at Kondane, slightly later in date than Bhaja, and those in Junagadh and other places[59] speak of the continued popularity of Buddhism in Western India from the second century onward.

Buddhist Schools

It may be convenient here to describe in brief the chief Buddhist schools and sects.[60] The Buddhist Sangha, as we know, was divided into eighteen schools or sects within a century and a half after Buddha's death. The names of all these schools are mentioned not only in certain Buddhist texts, but also in Sunga, Satavahana, Kushana and Ikshvaku inscriptions (second century B.C. to the second century A.D.)

As is well known, the second Buddhist council gave rise to two main schools, *viz.* the Sthaviravadins and the Mahasanghikas. In course of time, difference arose within each school and more sects came into existence till the total number of such schools as recorded in Buddhist tradition was eighteen.

The Sthaviravadins maintained harmony among themselves for a long time, but dissension arose among them in the third century (after the death of Buddha) and they were in course of time divided into as many as eleven schools, namely the Sarvastivada, the Haimavata, the Vatsiputriya, the Dharmottariya, the Bhadrayaniya, the Sammitiya, the Channagarika, the Mahisasaka, the Dharmaguptika, the Kasyapiya and the Sautrantika.

During the second century, following the death of Buddha, dissension assailed the Mahasanghika school as well resulting in its division into schools such as the Ekavyavaharika, the Lokottaravada, the Kaukkutika, the Chaityasaila, the Aparasaila, the Uttarasaila, the Bahusrutiya and the Prajnaptivada.

The Sthaviravada

This represents the orthodox school of Buddhism which

accepted the canon compiled in the first council at Rajagriha. The followers of this school considered Buddha a human teacher though endowed with certain supreme qualities.

Its teachings exhort the people to abstain from evil deeds, and lay emphasis on *sila* (good conduct), *samadhi* (meditation), and *prajna* (wisdom). Good conduct purifies the mind; *samadhi* brings about its concentration and helps one to understand the real nature of things. On the attainment of *prajna* (wisdom) we understand the significance of the four noble truths, and the law of dependent origination (the inter-relationship of one with another).

The main philosophy of this school is that all we find in this world is *anitya* (impermanence), *duhkha* (suffering) and *anatman* (soul-less). All compounded things are composed of two elements, namely *nama* and *rupa*. They constitute what is called five skandhas, *i.e. Rupa, Vedana, Sanja, Samskara* and *Vijnana*.

The attainment of arhathood is the goal of this school. An arhat understands the true nature of things, and he follows the noble eight-fold path, *i.e.* the middle path, and strives for *Nirvana,* the state of dispassionateness. From epigraphical records it would appear that during the third and second centuries B.C. this school had its strongholds in Sarnath and Sanchi. Its popularity extended also to the Nagarjunakonda region (which was otherwise a main centre of the Saila schools belonging to the Mahasanghika school) in the third century A.D. The Nagarjumakonda Apsidal Temple Inscription No. F (*Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XX, pp. 166) refers to the Theravada fraternities of Ceylon who to their credit are said to have converted the people of Kashmir, Gandhara, China, Chilata, (Kirata?). Tosali, Aparanta, Vanga, Vanavasi the Yavana countries, Dravida, Palaura and the island of Ceylon. Another Nagarjunakonda inscription refers to the monastic establishments of the Theravadins, Vibhajjavadins, and Mahavihara-vasins.[61] Vibhjjavada is another name of the Theravadins, while Mahavihara-vasins were a sub-sect of the Theravadins in Ceylon.

The Mahisasakas

The Mahisasakas were of two groups, the earlier and later Mahisasakas. The earlier group held tenets closer to those of the

Theravadins, while the later group of those of the Sarvastivadins.

The earlier Mahisasakas seem to have been followers of *Purana* of Dakkhinagiri (near Rajagriha). That he was a monk of high esteem and considerable importance is evident from the fact that his seven rules relating to food were incorporated in *Vinaya* text. The Mahisasakas assert that after the deliberations of the first council were finished, the texts were once more recited for the approval of *Purana*, who accepted the same after adding his seven rules.

According to the researches of Professor przylukki, the expansion of this school took place 'along the Kausambi-Bharukachha axis.' It seems to have been particularly popular in Mahishamandala and Avanti and ultimately its activities spread to South India and Ceylon. The southward expansion of this school is attested by the Nagarjunakonda Pillar inscription and the discovery of the *Vinaya* text of this school in Ceylon. The Nagarjunakonda Pillar inscription in question records the gift of a monastery for the acceptance of the Mahisasaka teachers in the eleventh regnal year of Ehuvala by his sister Koidabalisiri, the queen of the Maharaja of Vanavasa.

Regarding the philosophy of the Mahishasakas, only some of their tenets may be mentioned here. They rejected the *sabbam atthi* (everything exists) of the Sarvastivadins and held that the present alone exists. According to the earlier Mahisasakas, there is no *antarabhava, i.e.* interim existence between this life and the next one. The later Mahisasakas, however, believed in the existence of the past, and held that the *skandhas*, the *ayatanas*, and the *dhatus* always existed in the form of seeds.

The Sarvastivadins

The Sarvastivadins seem to have been one of the most popular of all Buddhist sects in ancient India. They also took an active part in preaching Buddhism in Central Asia and China.

The Sarvastivada school seems to have originated from the Mahisasakas and not from the Theravadins as Vasumitra believes. The Sarvastivadins are mentioned in a large number of inscriptions which, along with literary evidence, would indicate their range of influence in Mathura, Kashmir, Gandhara and also at Tukhara.

The Matura Lion capital inscription, attributed to *circa* 5-10 A.D. by Sten Konow records the establishment by the chief queen of Mahakshatrapa Rajuvula of the relics of the Sakyamuni Buddha, a stupa and a Sangharama in the acceptance of the Sarvastivada teachers. Again, the Zedda inscription of the eleventh year of Kanishka records the digging of a well in honour of the Sarvastivadins. The gift of the Bodhisattva images to the Sarvastivadin teachers is also mentioned in the Kushana inscriptions from *Sahet-Mahet* (Sravasti) and Mathura. The Kaman Buddhist Image inscription refers to the installation of an image of Bhagavat Sakyamuni in the Mihira-vihara as a gift of the monk Nandika for the acceptance of the Sarvastivada teachers. Again, the Kurram Relic casket inscription and certain potsherds from Tor Dheri refer to the Sarvastivada teachers.[62] It is, however, interesting to note that the inscriptions from Nagarjunakonda and Amaravati contain reference to this sect.

According to the Sarvastivadins, all things exist (compare the expression *Sasbbham atthi* in the *Samyutta-nikaya*). Like the Sthaviravadins they were realists, but the principal point of difference between the two schools is that the Sarvastivadins maintain the existence of five *dharmas* in their subtlest forms at all times, whether in the past, present or future, while the Theravadins deny such existence.

The Sthaviravadins attribute a position of unsurpassed importance to the Arhats. But the Sarvastivadins, like the Vatsiputriyas and the Sammitiyas, held that the Arhats "are subject to retrogression." Further, they did not attribute any transcendental position to Buddhas and Bodhisattvas as the Mahasasnghikas did.

The Haimavatas

The main centre of this school, as the very name would suggest, was the Himalayan region. According to Vasumitra, the Haimavatas branched off from the Sarvastivadins, while Vinitadeva and Bhavya consider them as a branch of the Mahasanghikas.

During the second century B.C., Sanchi seems to have been an important centre for the activities of this sect as is apparent from some relic casket inscriptions.

The inscription of the steatite Casket No. 1 from Stupa No.

11 at Sanchi refers to Sapurisa Kassapagota, who is described as *Seva-hemavatachariya*, which according to N.G. Majumdar, means the teacher of the whole community of the Haimavatas. The inscription on the Relic casket found in Stupa No. 2 at Sonari mentions Gotiputa, the heir of Dudubhisara, as a Hemavata, *i.e.* a member of the community of the Haimavata. A seal from Sankisa also refers to the Hamavata school.[63]

In common with the Sarvastivadins, the Haimavatas did not attach any special importance to the Bodhisattavas and considered that "the gods were not capable of living a holy life of *Brahmacharya* and the heretics could not have miraculous powers."

The Vatsiputriyas, with whom the Sammitiyas were affiliated, were well known for their doctrine of *pudgala*. The main centre of the activities of the school during the early Gupta period seems to have been Sarnath as is attested by an inscription engraved on an Asokan pillar there. The cardinal doctrine of this school is that besides the elements composing a being there is a *pudgala* (an individuality, a personality, a self) which is indefinable and which persist through all existences. Thus according to some thinkers, they should be treated as a heretical sect.

The Dharmaguptakas

The Dharmaguptakas seem to have branched from the Mahisasakas. Like the latter, they held that an Arhat was free from passions and that the heretics were not capable of gaining miraculous powers. Further, they considered a gift to Buddha as of special importance, and they believed in the worship of the stupas of Buddha.

The main centre of the Dharmaguptakas seems to have been in north-west of the Indian and Pakistan sub-continent and from there the tenets of this school went to Iran, Central Asia and China. The Pratimoksha of the Dharmaguptakas was used as the disciplinary guide in all the convents of China.

The Kasyapiyas

The Kasyapiyas also known as Sthaviriyas, Saddharma-varshakas or Suvarshakas, held doctrines, close to those of the Sthaviravadins. According to Tibetan tradition, its founder was

one Kasyapa. Some scholars find a reference to them in the Pabhosa inscription (*circa* first-second century B.C.) which refers to the dedication of a cave (*lena*) to the Kasyapiya arhats by Ashadhanena, son of Gopaliya Vaihidari and Rajan Bhagavata and maternal uncle of the King Bahasati Mita in the 10th year of Udaka.[64] They find mention also in the Bedadi Copper Ladle Inscription and on the inscribed jars from Palatu Dheri as recipients of some gifts.[65] Buhler considers Sovasaka of the Karle Inscription of the 24th regnal year of the Satavahana King Vasishthiputra Pulumavi as a Prakrit equivalent of Suvarskaka, another name of the Kasyapiyas. but this view is not accepted by many scholars.

The Kasyapiyas believed that "the past which has borne fruit ceases to exist, thus partially modifying the position of the Sarvastivadins for whom the past also exists like the present."

The Sautrantikas

They seem to have issued from the Kasyapiya sect. Like the latter, they believed that the *Pudgala* or individuality passes from one life to another. Certain Sanchi inscriptions seem to refer to the teachers of this school as Sutatika and Sutatikini.[66]

Dharmmottariyas

They are a branch of the Sthaviravadins. The Dharmmottariyas seem to have been mentioned in two Karle cave inscriptions of the second-century A.D. which record the erection of a pillar with relics by the Bhanka Satimita (Svatimitra), son of Nanda and disciple of some Sthavira of the community of the Dharmottariyas from Soparaka, (Surparaka), A Jungadh cave inscription records endowments for Dharmmottariyas.[67]

Sammitiyas

The Sammitiyas were allied to Vastiputriyas and they became popular during the reign of Harshavardhana. They trace their origin to Maha-Kachchayana of Avanti. A Kushana inscription from Mathura refers to the installation of a Bodhisatta image for the acceptance of the Sammitiyas (*Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. II, p. 67).

Bhadrayaniyas

The Bhadrayaniyas are mentioned in the Kanheri cave inscriptions of the time of Gautamiputra Satakarni and two epigraphs from Nasik. One of the Nasik epigraphs records the donation of a cave and a village, Pisajipadaka, on the south-west side of the mount Tiranhu (Trirasmi) by the queen Gautami Balasri, to the Sangha of the monks of the Community of the Bhadrayaniyas. The other inscription mentions the command of Vasishthiputra Pulamavi to his officer Sivakhandila to give the village of Samalipada to the monks to the Bhadrayhaniya school in exchange of the village of Suddarsana.[67]

Very little is known of the doctrines of the Dhammotariyas, Bhadrayaniyas and Channagarika.

The Mahasanghikas, as stated above, originated after the second Buddhist Council. They were the first seceders from the parent Sanga as they formed a separate group after being declared dissidents by the orthodox monks on account of their indulgence in ten points of *Vinaya* rules.

Because of their revolutionary outlook, they added some new rules to existing *Vinaya* adopted in the first council. Again they introduced changes with regard to the arrangement and interpretation of *Sutra* and the *Vinaya* texts. They did not accept as Buddha's sayings the *Parivara,* the *Abhidharma,* the *Patisambhida,* the *niddesa* and parts of the Jatakas as Buddha's sayings. All these texts are excluded from the canonical texts of the Mahasanghikas. They made a fresh compilation of the *Dhamma* and *Vinaya* and included those texts which were excluded in the first council. They also made some original compilation of which the *Mahavastu* alone is known to us.

The wide popularity of the Mahasanghikas is reflected in many inscriptions. The earliest epigraph in which the Mahasanghikas are mentioned is the Mathura Lion capital inscription of the time of Mahakshatrapa Sodasa. According to this epigraph this sect had a strong opponent in Buddhila, who was an adherent of the Sarvastivada School. The Wardak (30 miles to the west of Kabul) Vase inscription of the time of Huvashka shows that Afghanistan was one of the centres of this sect, inasmuch as this epigraph records the enshrinement of a relic of Buddha at the Vagra-Magir Monastery by Kamaguliya, son of Vagra-Magira for the acceptance of the Sarvastivada

teachers.[69]

On the west, Karla seems to have been an important seat of Mahasanghika activities. The Karla cave inscription No. 19 tells us that King Vasishthiputra Pulamavi asked his officer to donate the village of Karajika in the Mamala District with all the immunities belonging to the monk's land for the support of the Mahasanghikas. The Inscription No. 20 records the gift of a nine-celled hall to the same sect.[70]

The offshoots of this school, the Chaityakas and the Lokottaravadins, were firmly established in the South, *i.e.* Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda. It is well known that some of the Amaravati Rail Pillar inscriptions mention Mahavinayadharas and Vinayadharas (the monks and nuns expert in *Vinaya* rules). One Amaravati stone slab inscription refers to the term Samyuttabhanaka. That all these canonical experts belong to the Mahasanghika group is apparent from the fact that such titles as *Digha-majhima-nikaya-dharasa, digha-majjhimapancha matuka-osaka-vachakanam, digha-majjhima-pancha-matuka-desakanam,* and *digha-mangaadharena* occur in the Nagarjunakonda inscriptions in reference to the monks of the Saila school.[71] This will confirm the tradition that the Mahasanghikas had their own *Vinaya, Nikayas* and *Abhidhamma.*

The offshoots of the Mahasanghikas were the Bahusrutiyas, the Raja-girinivasikas, the Siddhatthakas, the Chetiyakas the Pubba-seliyas, and the Aparamahavanaseliyas. The Bahusrutiyas are mentioned in the Palatu-dheri jar inscriptions (first century A.D.) and also in one of the Nagarjunakonda detached pillar inscription (No. G) which refers to the construction of a monastery for the Bahusrutiya teachers by the mother of King Sri Ehuvula Chamtmula.[72]

The Chaityakas[73] are mentioned in the Nasik Inscription No. 22, which records the gift of a lena or cave by Mugadasa who was a lay worshipper of the Chaityaka sect. They are mentioned also in the inscriptions of the Juna and Ajanta Caves. An Amaravati Inscription of the time of Vasishthiputra Pulmavi mentions the gift of a Dharma-Chakra for the acceptance of the *Nikayas* of the Chaityakas.[74]

The Rajagriha-nivasikas and Siddhatthakas are also mentioned in the Amaravati inscriptions.

EARLY BUDDHISM AND THE GROWTH OF MAHAYANA

The early or original Buddhism centres round Buddha's teachings, as maintained in the Pali canon. *Sila* (good conduct), *samadhi* (concentration) and *Prajna* (wisdom) form the core of Buddha's teachings. Buddha held that existence is suffering. Suffering has a cause. There is a way to overcome it and Buddha alone knows the way. The practice of the noble eight-fold path leads to the cessation of suffering, and the attainment of *Nirvana* or emancipation. *Nirvana* is an indescribable state of bliss. The noble eight-fold path is the middle path which avoids the two extremes, the one of extreme indulgence and the other of extreme self-mortification.

Buddha believed in *Karma* and rebirth with the majority of Hindu thinkers. He did not encourage the practice of miracles, nor was he interested in the origin and end of the universe. He did not consider these metaphysical questions of any relevance to gain knowledge or emancipation.

Buddha's philosophy can be summed up in what is known as *unitya*, *anatman*, and *duhkha*. Everything we see is impermanent and soulless, and existence is suffering. Except *Nirvana*, which is not made up of any constituents, everything is temporary, painful and devoid of any relay:

> What we conveniently call a person or any individual consists of nothing else but name-nonmaterial part, and *rupa*, material form, both of which are changing every moment . . . The cycle of worldly life is explained by the law of dependent orgination—*pratiyat samtupada*.

The root of all evil is ignorance or *avidya*:

> From ignorance as cause arise the aggregates (*sankhara*), from the aggregates as cause arise consciousness, from consciousness as cause arise name and form (mind and body), from name and form as a cause arise the sphere of the six (senses), from the sphere of the six as cause, contact, from the contact as cause sensation, from sensation as cause, craving, from craving as cause grasping, from grasping as cause becoming, from becoming as cause birth, from birth as cause arise old age, death, grief, lamentation,

pain, dejection and despair. Even so is the origination of all mass of pain.[75]

As time passed, new thought arose and the religion underwent transformations. The new thinkers of whom Nagarjuna was the most celebrated, laid emphasis on the supramundane character of Buddha and developed the concept of Bodhisattvas, who thought to attain *Nirvana*, refuse to do so till all sentient beings were delivered from suffering. With these new schools, not Arhathood but Buddhahood became the goal of the monks. With the deification of Buddha, new Buddhist deities, Avalokitesvara and others were gradually introduced. The followers of the new school called themselves Mahayanists, *i.e.* the followers of the greater vehicle[76] throwing open the possibilities of salvation and Buddhahood to all and designated the followers of the orthodox school as Hinayanists, *i.e.* the followers of a smaller vehicle, with whom self-realisation or individual arhathood was of primary concern.[77]

Another aspect of Mahayanism is the stress on devotion or Bhakti which brought it closer to other important creeds of India.

It is by that feeling of fervent devotion, combined with the preaching of active compassion that the creed has enlisted the sympathy of numerous millions of people, and has become a factor in the history of mankind of much greater importance than orthodox Buddhism.[77]

It is by its more progressive spirit that it has succeeded finally in absorbing all the sects.

Mahayana Buddhism has two important schools of thought, the Madhyamika and the Yogachara. The Madhyamikas held the middle path or view. But this middle path was apparently different from the middle path preached by Buddha in Benaras. Buddha's middle path (or *pratityasamutpada*) had an ethical significance, whereas the middle path advocated by the Mahayanists is a theory of relativity. It advocates neither the theory of *reality nor that of the unreality* of the world, but merely of relativity.

The essence of the Mahayana philosophy is *Sunya* or void. Sunya however does not mean nothingness. It has two aspects, from the positive point of view it means the worldly phenomena as a result of dependent origination; from the negative point of

view, it means the *paramartha satya* or the absolute reality without origination. Thus it avoids the two extremes of existence and non-existence.

The Madhyamika school was founded by Nagarjuna or Arya Nagarjuna (second century A.D.) The Yogachara school laid emphasis on *Yoga* as the most important method for attaining enlightenment. *Bodhi* can be attained after all the stages of spiritual progress have been gone through. This school was founded by Maitreya or Maitreyanath (3rd century A.D.)[78]

BUDDHIST LITERATURE

Before this chapter is closed a few words may be said about the Buddhist literature of the period under review. None of the Buddhist works belong to Buddha's time. Further, all that we find in Buddhist collections were not words or sayings of Buddha only. Some were composed by his disciples.

The oldest of all the Buddhist literatures are the *Tripitaka* (Three Baskets). They are the collections of speeches, sayings, songs, narratives and rules of the order (Sangha).

The *Tripitaka* consists of the *Vinayapitaka*, the *Suttapitaka* and the *Abhidhammapitaka*. The *Vinaypitaka* contains the disciplinary rules to be followed by the monks and nuns of the Sangha. It includes the *Suttavibhanga* (consisting of the Mahavibhanga and the Bhikkunivibhanga); the Khandhakas (consisting of the Mahavagga and the Chullavagga); and the Parivara.

The *Suttapitaka* consists of the followings *nikayas*, or collections, namely, (a) *Dighanikaya*, (b) *Majjhimanikaya*, (c) *Samyuttanikaya*, (d) *Anguttaranikaya* and (e) *Khuddakanikaya*.

The *Khuddakanikaya* contains fifteen books: the *Khuddakapatha, Dhammapada, Udana, Itivuttaka, Suttanipata, Vimana-Vatthu, Peta-Vatthu, Theragatha, Therigatha, Jataka, Niddesa, Patisambhida, Apadana, Buddhyavamsa* and *Chariyapitaka*.[79]

The *Abhiddammapitaka* has seven books: the *Dhadmmasangani*, (compendium of dhammas), *Vibhanga* (classification), *Dhatukatha* (discourse on the elements), *Puggalapannatti* (description of human elements), *Kathavatthu* (subjects of discourse), *Yamaka* and *Patthana*.

The above texts comprise the Pali scriptures representing the cannon of the Theravadins or Vibhjjavadins. In all probability

the Pali cannon was substantially fixed in the time of Asoka, Mahindra, brother of Asoka, carried the cannon to Ceylon, where the texts were written during the reign of Vatsagamini (first century B.C.).

The non-canonical Pali literature includes, among others, the *Milindapanha*, the *Nettipakarana*, *Buddhadatta's* manuals, on *Vinaya* and *Abhidhamma*, commentaries on the Pali Tripitaka texts including the Jataka ascribed to Buddhaghosha or Dhammapala and the Ceylones works like the Dipavamsa, Mahavamsa, the Chulavamsa, etc.

Now mention may be made of Buddhist literature in pure and mixed Sanskrit, representing the treatises of the other sects as the Pali cannon does of the Theravada.

The Mahavastu, which belongs to the Hinayana school, contains legends regarding Buddha's life, Jatakas and other narratives. It is considered a book on *Vinaya* belonging to the Lokottaravadins of the Mahasanghikas. Though the Mahavastu is a Hinayana text, it contained many of the features of the Mahayanist.

The Lalitavistara in mixed Sanskrit deals with the life of Buddha from his birth till his first sermon. It is one of the most important sacred texts of the Mahayanists and it calls itself a *Vaipula Sutra*.[80]

Among the Buddhist Sanskrit texts, the works of Asvaghosha occupy a unique position. As is well known, Asvaghosha flourished in the reign of Kanishka. He laid stress on Buddha Bhakti which contributed largely to the growth of Buddhism.

Asvaghosha's works include the *Buddhacharita* (the biography of Buddha), the *Saundarananda* (the story of the conversion of his step-brother, Nanda), both representing ornate poetry, and the Sariputraprakarana, a nine-act play, the fragments of which have been discovered in Central Asia, besides the *Gandistotra* and *Vajrasuchi*. Another poet who flourished during Kanishka's time was Matricheta, whose *Kanikalekha* is a poem of eighty-five verses including some didactic narratives. His other famous hymns are the *Chatuhsataka stotra* (a hymn of four hundred verses) and the *Satapanchsatika stotra* (a hymn of one hundred and fifty verses) fragments of both of which were discovered in Central Asia.[81]

The principal Mahayana scriptures of our period include

the Prajnaparamita, the Saddharmapundarika, the Suvarnaprabhasa, the Lankavatara, the Gandavyuha, the Tathagataguhyaka, the Samadhiraja, and the Dasabhumisvara, etc.

The Prajnaparamita contains sutras on the doctrine of Sunyata. It is said that originally Buddha expounded the sutras on the Vulture Beak in Rajagriha. In course of time, they are said to have been lost and rescued from the neither regions by Nagarjuna. One of the Prajnaparamita treatises was translated into Chinese about 170 A.D.

The Saddharamapundarika was composed perhaps in the second century A.D. It is said to contain the doctrine which Buddha delivered to an assembly of Boddhisattvas on the Vulture Peak. It represents developed Mahayana Buddhism "with Buddha worship, the cult of relics and image worship and the dedication of Buddhist stupas and Viharas." It looks upon the Buddha as an eternal principle; "a god above all gods." The doctrine of *Sunyata,* however, does not get much mention here.

The date of the other Mahayana scriptures canno be fixed with certainty, though most were perhaps composed during this period. Of the Avadana texts the Avadadakka seems to be the earliest. It is said to have been translated into Chinese during the early part of the third century A.D. The Divyadana seems to have been composed by different authors in different periods. The major portion of the work was perhaps composed in the second century A.D. The avadanas introduce a multiplicity of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas and represent Sakyamuni as a superhuman worker of miracles.

Notes and References

1. *Karma* or one's own deeds influence the destiny of a being. All except those who have gained the highest spiritual knowledge, are subject to the effects of good and bed deeds. Almost all sections of people in India beiieve in the law of *Karma*.
2. Sir Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism* (London 1952), Vol. I, pp. XIX ff.
3. The time of Gautama's advent was suitable for carrying reforms. Within the Brahmanical framework itself, changes were taking place. Side by side with the followers of orthodox Brahmanism, there arose Upanishadic thinkers who advocated the value of

simple rituals and meditation in the place of the complicated *Karamkunda* or ritualistic system of big sacrifices involving animal slaughter.

4. The Jaina texts put the number of such teachers as 363, but the Buddhist sources as 62 or 63.
5. For an excellent exposition of the doctrines of the non-Vedic teachers, See B.M. Barua, *Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy*, pp. 279 ff; and N. Dutt, *Early Monastic Buddhism*, Vol. I (Calcutta 1941), pp. 35 ff.
6. N. Dutt, *op.cit.*, pp. 35, 36; Sir Charles Eliot, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 99.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 36-7, Sir Charles Eliot, *op. cit.*, p. 99.
9. *Ibid.*
10. N. Dutt, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 ff.
11. E. Thomas, *The Life of Buddha as Legend and History* (London, 1952), pp. 1 ff; Sir Charles Eliot, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1 pp. 129 ff; N. Dutt, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 104 ff; H. Kern, *Manual of Buddhism* (Varanasi, 1968), pp. 12 ff; see also the author's anonymous work. *The Way of the Buddha* (Publications Division, Govt. of India), pp. 289 ff.
12. E.J. Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
13. E.J. Thomas, *op. cit.*, p, 87.
14. "The body, monks, is soulless. If the body, monks, were the soul, this body would not be subject to sickness, and it should be possible in the case of the body to say, 'Let my body be thus, let my body not be thus.' Now, because the body is soulless, monks, therefore the body is subject to sickness and it is not possible in the case of the body to 'Let my body be thus, let my body not be thus."
"Feeling is soulless . . . perception is soulless . . . the aggregates are soulless."
"Consciousness is soulless. For if consciousness were the soul, this consciousness will not be subject to sickness, and it would be possible for consciousness to say, "Let my consciousness be thus, let my consciousness not be thus . . ."
"Thus perceiving, monks, the learned noble disciple feels loathing for the body, for feeling, for perception, for the aggregates, for consciousness." See *Anattalakkhana-sutra*, E.J. Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-9, Buddha's embodying sermon on the marks of non-soul.
15. See the author's anonymous work, *The Way of the Buddha* (Publication Division, Govt. of India), p. 304.
16. See *2500 Years of Buddhism* (Publications Division, Govt. of India), p. 34 ff; N. Dutt, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 324 ff.
17. See Obermiller's translation of Buston's *History of Buddhism*, II, p. 88.

18. As to the condition of Buddhism during the period in question, see N. Dutt, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 1-4.
19. N. Dutt, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 30 ff.
20. See *2500 Years of Buddhism* (Publications Division, Govt. of India), pp. 41 ff.
21. N. Dutt. *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 23 ff.
22. D.R. Bhandarkar, *Asoka*, pp. 68 ff.
23. D.C. Sirar, *Inscriptions of Asoka* (Publications Division), p. 15.
24. D.R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 83 ff.
25. N. Dutt, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 264 ff; *2500 Years of Buddhism*, pp. 45 ff.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 258-274.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 264 ff.
28. Luder's list Nos. 654-656 (Sanchi) and 157-158 (Sonari); Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 119 ff. 286 ff, 313 ff; Marshall, *Monument of Sanchi*, I, pp. 289; Fleet, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1905, pp. 6 ff; Ajoy Mitra Shastri, *An Outline of Early Buddhism* (Varanasi, 1956), p. 57.
29. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India* (Calcutta, 1955), p. 161.
30. Menander was apparently a king of the Kabul valley. He, however, made his conquests into the heart of India as far as Ayodhya and Saketa. According to tradition, Nagasena came to Sagala to meet Menander. See, Kern, *op. cit.*, p. 118; R.C. Majumdar, H.C. Raychaudhuri and Kalikinkar Datta, *An Advanced History of India* (London, 1949), p. 114.
31. N. Dutt, *Aspects of Mahayana Buddhism and its Relation to Hinayana* London, 1930), pp. 23 ff.
32. *Ibid.*
33. Sten Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol. II, Part I (Kharoshthi Inscriptions), Calcutta, 1929, pp. 2-6.
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 8 and 9.
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.*, p. 23 ff.
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Ibid.*, pp. 31-49.
41. B.N. *Puri, India Under the Kushamas* (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1960), pp. 37 ff.
42. Sten Konow, *op. cit.*, p. 135 ff.
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Ibid.*
45. Sir Charles Eliot *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 78, 82; M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature* (English Translation, Calcutta, 1927), Vol. I, p. 284 ff.

46. *Ibid.*
47. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXIII, 1904, p. 101; B.N. Puri, *op. cit.*, pp. 58 and 68.
48. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXX, pp. 183-184.
49. B.N. Puri, *op.cit.*, p. 59; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX, p. 243 ff; Luders List No. 62.
50. *Journal of the Department of Letters* (University of Calcutta), Vol. I, 1920, pp. 27-8. The Satavahana King mentioned here may be Gautamputra Yajnasri. The association of Nagarjuna with the celebrated Buddhist site of Nagarjuna-Konda during the second-third centuries A.D. has not been borne out by archaeological excavations.
51. R. Subrahmanyam, *Salihundam* (Hyderabad, 1964), p. 1; K.R. Subrahmanyam, *Buddhist Remains in Andhradesa*, Andhra University Series III, 1932, p. 1 ff.
52. Aiyappan and P.R. Srinivasan, *Guide to Buddhist Antiquities* (Madras Govt. Museum, 1960), p. 49 ff; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, pp. 323.
53. C. Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Govt. Museum* (Madras, 1956), p. 27 ff.
54. C. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 271.
55. H. Sarkar and B.N. Misra, *Nagarjunakonda* (New Delhi, 1966), pp. 22-3.
56. *2500 Years of Buddhism*, pp. 332 ff.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 334. That Aparasaila monks lived here during the Satvahana period is proved by an epigraph occurring in one of its caves. Ajoy Mitra Shastri, *op. cit.*, p. 97.
58. Ajoy Mitra Shastri, *op. cit.*, p. 89.
59. *2500 Years of Buddhism, op. cit.*, p. 326 ff.
60. For a detailed description of the Buddhist schools and sects and their religious views, see N. Dutt, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 46-206; *2500 Year of Buddhism op. cit.*, pp. 97-124; Jiryo Masuda, "Origin and Doctrines of Early Indian Buddhist Schools," *Asia Major*, Vol. II, 1925, pp. 6-69; Ajoy Mitra Shastri, *op.cit.*, p. 42 ff.
61. *Epigrophia Indica*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 247 ff.
62. *Epigrophia Indica*, Vols. II, p. 212; Vol. VIII, pp. 180-111; Vol. IX; p. 141 ff: Vol. XVIII, p. 15 ff.
63. Marshall, *op. cit.*, pp. 294 ff; Luders List No. 156; *Royal Asiatic Society*, London, 1905, pp. 691; Ajay Mitra Shastri, *op. cit.*, p. 87.
64. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 242.
65. *Corpus Inscriptions Indicarum*, Vol. II, p. CXXVII.
66. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 195.
67. Ajay Mitra Shastri, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-83.

68. Luders List, Nos. 987 and 124; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, pp. 60-66.
69. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II, pp. 46, 170. A Kushana inscription of the time of Vasudeva refers to the installation of an image of Sakyamuni for the acceptance of this sect.
70. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VII, p. 64, Vol. VIII, p. 71.
71. Burgess and Jaggayyapeta, *Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati*, pp. 91, 105 162 ff; *Epigraphia Indica* , Vol. XX. p. 17.
72. Sten Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XX, pp. 23-4.
73. Luders List No. 1130; Burgess, *Notes on Amaravati Stupas*, pp. 27, 41.
74. N. Dutt describes the special characteristics of Mahayana Buddhism as follows: (1) the conception of the Bodhisatta, (2) the practice of the *Paramitas*, (3) the development of Bodhichitta, (4) the ten stages (*bhumi*) of spiritual development, (5) the goal of Buddhahood, (6) the conception of *trikaya*, and (7) the conception of Dharmasunyata or Dharmasamata or Tathata (*Aspects of Mahayana Buddhism and its Relation to Hinayana*, p. 34 ff).
75. E.J. Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 193.
76. Sir Charles Eliot, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 3-75.
77. H. Kern, *op. cit.*, p. 124
78. *2500 Years of Buddhism*, *op. cit.*, pp. 121-24.
79. M. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 4 ff; Sir Charles Eliot, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 277 ff; *2500 Years of Buddhism*, *op. cit.*, pp. 139 ff.
80. M. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 248 ff.
81. *Ibid.*, pp. 270 ff.

5

Buddha's Work and His Opponents

I

With the history of the conversion of those two most prominent of his disciples, and the account of the soon-allayed discontent of the people at Rajagaha, the connected narrative of Buddha's career breaks off, again to unite but once more, where the memory had to be fastened on the last wanderings of the aged teacher, on his parting utterances and his death. For the long period which lies between that beginning and the end, a period, as we are told, of more than four decades, there is in our tradition, at least in that which deserves this name, nothing in the way of a continuous description, but merely collections of countless real or feigned addresses, dialogues, and sayings of Buddha, to which is annexed a short note regarding the external circumstances of place and company, which led to these utterances.

To outward view it is a uniform life which lies before us in this uni-coloured tradition, and that wherein alone the true history of this life lay, the inner current of being with its ebb and flow, its coming and its going, is hidden from us. When and how the picture of the world and life comes to assume in Buddha's mind the form in which it presented itself to his followers, in

what order above all his convictions regarding himself and his mission developed themselves within him, how far the prejudices of the Indian people and the criticism of the Indian schools eventually reacted on Buddha's thought and inclination, —even to ask these questions nobody who looks to our authorities will be bold enough. Of this we shall never learn anything: we cannot.

What we can do is, without attempting to draw any distinction of early and later periods, merely to unite the different features which tradition places at our disposal, so as to form a connected picture, a picture of Buddha's teaching and life, of his intercourse with high and low, of the circle of disciples gathered round him, and of the wider circles, of partizans and antagonists.

Can we hope to attain historical truth in such a picture?

Yes and no.

No: for this picture shows us only the type of ancient Buddhist life, but not the individual characteristics which belonged to Buddha and him only, as peculiarly his own, in the sense that we have a picture of Socrates which truly resembles Socrates only and no one else, even no Socratic.

Still this, which on the one hand indicates a want in our knowledge, gives us on the other hand, however, a ground for trusting it.

India is altogether a land of types, not of individualities stamped with their own dies. Life begins and passes away there, as the plant blooms and withers, subject to the dull rule of the laws of Nature; and the laws of Nature can produce nothing but typical forms. Only where the breath of freedom floats are those proud forces of manhood unfettered, which enable man to become, and dare to become, something individual, like himself alone. Thus on all pictures in the Indian epics, despite their splendid colouring, there lies that strange torpor which makes men look like spectres, to which the draught of vivifying blood had been denied: and this effect is owing to this cause above all others, that the domain of this poetry does not extend to the point where the particularly characteristic life of the individual begins. This range was closed to Indian poetry because the Indian peoples themselves were denied the power to develop individualties. And in the same way in the history of Indian

thought, there also the power at work is not the individual mind, but always merely the great Indian folk-mind, that which the Indians, if questioned regarding the origin of their sacred writings, denominate the sacred Vedic spirit. Through all there operates an unindividual universal, and the individual bears only those marks with which the universal mind has endowed him.

Are we not to believe that this same law has also governed the beginnings of Buddhist life? The great disciples, who clustered round the Master, Sariputta and Moggallana, Upali, and *Ananda*, completely resembles each other in the old narratives, and their picture is nothing else but the invariably uniform copy of Buddha himself, only on a reduced scale. The reality was hardly much otherwise: the individual was little more than a specimen which the general spirit disclosed to view, and this general spirit again was, with reference to the forms in which it outwardly displayed itself scarcely intrinsically different from the spirit of Buddha himself and the forms among which Buddha's life was passed.

Furthermore, the period between Buddha and the fixing of our traditions regarding him was in nothing so deficient as in minds capable of giving a new direction to the great movement, or of stamping it with the impress of their own life: the ancient Buddhist Church had not a Paul. But in this we have a guarantee that this movement, as it is sketched for us, in its essence the same as Buddha and his first disciples made it. True, Buddha may have had many a noble mark of intellect and of creative power, which the puny natures, by which his picture has been preserved to us, have reduced to their own lower level, but a form like his can certainly not be fundamentally misconceived.

Thus, though only a few touches of the picture presented to us by tradition can be said to be absolutely reliable, in the sense of historically exact, still we shall have a right to look upon this picture itself in its entirety as reliable in a higher sense.

BUDDHA'S DAILY LIFE

From year to year the change from a period of wandering to a period of rest and retirement repeated itself for Buddha and his disciples. In the month of June when, after the dry scorching heat

of the Indian summer, clouds come up in towering masses, and the rolling thunders herald the approach of the rain-bearing monsoon, the Indian to-day, as in ages past, prepares himself and his house for the time during which all usual operations are interrupted by the rain: for whole weeks long in many places the pouring torrents confine the inhabitants to their huts, or at any rate to their villages, while communication with neighbours is cut off by rapid, swollen streams, and by inundations. "The birds," says an ancient Buddhist work, "build their nests on the tops of trees: and there they nestle and hide during the damp season." And thus also it was in those days an established practice with the members of monastic orders, undoubtedly not first in Buddha's time, but since ever there was a system of religious itinerancy in India, to suspend itinerant operations during the three rainy months and to spend this time in quiet retirement in the neighbourhood of towns and villages, where sure support was to be found through the charity of believers. To this custom they adhered all the more strongly because they could not, during the rainy season, which, after the scorching heat of summer, calls everywhere into being an infinite variety of vegetable and animal life, travel about, without infringing at every step the commandment which forbids the destruction of even the lowest form of life.

Buddha also every year for three months "kept *vassa* (rainy season)," surrounded by groups of his disciples, who flocked together to pass the rainy season near their teacher. Kings and wealthy men contended for the honour of entertaining him and his disciples, who were with him, as guests during this season in the hospices and gardens which they had provided for the community.

The rains being over, the itinerating began: Buddha went from town to town and village to village, always attended by a great concourse of disciples: the texts are wont to speak in one place of three hundred, and in another of five hundred, who followed their master.* In the main streets, through which the

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* On the occasion of a prophecy of Buddha's regarding Metteyya, the next Buddha, who will in the far future appear upon the earth, it is said: "He will be the leader of a band of disciples, numbering hundreds of thousands, as I am now the leader of bands of disciples, numbering hundred."—*Cakkavattisuttanta*.

religious pilgrims like travelling merchants used to pass, the believers who dwelt near had taken ample care to provide shelter, to which Buddha and his disciples might resort: or, where monks who professed the doctrine dwelt, there was sure to be found lodging for the night in their abodes, and even if no other cover was to be had, there was no want of mango or banyan trees, at the feet of which the band might halt for the night.

The territory through which these wandering excursions generally extended was the circuits of the "Eastern Land," *i.e.* chiefly the old kingdoms of Kasi-Kosala and Magadha, with the neighbouring free States, the territories known to-day as Oudh and Bihar. Contrasted with this were the kingdoms of "Western Hindustan," the ancient seat of Vedic culture and of the exclusive power of a Brahman order strongly opposed to the religious influences of the East, affected, it is true, if tradition rightly inform us, by the itinerant ministrations of Buddha, but still only seldom and superficially. The most important head-quarters during these wanderings, at the same time the approximately extreme points, to the north-west and south-east, of the area in which Buddha's pilgrim-life was passed, are the capital cities of the kings of Kosala and the Magadha, Savathi (now Sahet Mahet on the Rapti) and Rajagaha (now Rajgir, south of Bihar).* In the immediate neighbourhood of these towns the community possessed numerous pleasant gardens, in which structures of various kinds were erected for the requirements of the members. "Not too far from, not yet too near the town," thus runs the standard description of such a park given in the sacred texts, "well provided with entrances and exits, easily accessible to all people who inquire after it, with not too much of the bustle of life by day, quiet by night, far from commotion and the crowds of men, a place of retirement, a good spot for solitary meditation." Such a garden was the Veluvana ("Bamboo-grove"), once a pleasure ground of king Bimbsara and presented by him to Buddha and the Church: another was the still more renowned Jetavana (at Savatthi), a gift made by Buddha's most liberal admirer, the great merchant Anathapindika. Not alone

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* The distance between these two capitals is about the same as between London and Edinburgh.

the sacred texts, but equally also the monumental records, the reliefs of the great Stupa of Bharhut, recently explored, show how highly celebrated this gift of Anathapindika's was from the earliest days in the Buddhist Church. It is narrated how Anathapindika was in search of a spot which should be worthy to serve as a place of sojourn for Buddha and his disciples; the garden of the prince Jeta alone appeared to him to unite in itself all requirements, but the prince declined to sell it to him. After protracted negotiations Anathapindika obtained the garden for as much gold as sufficed to cover the surface of the ground of the whole Jetavana. He gave it to Buddha, whose favourite place of sojourn it thenceforward was. Numberless passages of the sacred text, in which the subject-matter consists of addresses and sayings of Buddha, begin: "At this time the holy Buddha was sojouring at Savatthi, in the Jetavana, the garden of Anathapindika."

If it is possible to speak of a home in the homeless, wandering life of Buddha and his disciples, places like the Veluvana and Jetavana may of all others be so called, near the great centres of Indian life and yet untouched by the turmoil of the capitals, once the quite resting places of rulers and nobles, before the yellow-robed mendicants appeared on the scene, and "the Church in the four quarters, present and absent," succeeded to the possession of the kingly inheritance. In these gardens were the residences of the brethren, houses, halls, cloisters, store-rooms, surrounded by lotus-pools, fragrant mango trees, and slender fan-palms that lift their foliage high over all else, and by the deep green foliage of the Nyagrodha tree, whose roots dropping from the air to earth become new stems, and with their cool shady arcades and leafy walks seems to invite to peaceful meditation.*

These were the surroundings in which Buddha passed a great part of his life, probably the portions of its richest in effective work. Here masses of the population, lay as well as

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* The Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian (in the beginning of the fifth century after Christ) writes regarding the Jetavana (according to Beal's translation, p. 75): "The clear water of the tanks, the luxuriant groves, and numberless flowers of variegated hues, combine to produce the picture of what is called the Vihara of Chi-fin (Jeta)."

monastic, flocked together to see him and to hear him preach. Hither came pilgrim monks from far countries, who have heard the fame of Buddha's teaching and, when the rainy season is past, undertake a pilgrimage to see the master face to face. "It is customary," runs an oft-recurring passage in our texts, "for monks, when they have passed the rainy season, to set out to see the Exalted One. It is the custom of the exalted Buddha to welcome monks who come from afar." "Is it well with you, monks?" Buddha is accustomed to ask the arrivals. "Are you able to live? Have you passed the rains in peace and unity, and without discord, and have you experienced any want of support?"

We hear, for instance, of one of the faithful named Sona, in the land of Avanti (Malwa), far from the country in which Buddha lived, whom the fame of the new doctrine had reached, and there arose in him the desire to be received among its professors. Three long years he had to wait until he succeeded in bringing together in this distant land the ten monks, whose presence was indispensable to conferring the orders on a new members. Once, when he was in solitude, there occurred to him the thought: "I have, it is true, heard of the Exalted One, he is so and so, but I have not seen him face to face. I will go to behold him, the exalted, holy, highest Buddha, if my teacher allows me to go." And his teacher, to whom he expressed his wish, answered him: "Good, Sona, good: go, Sona, to behold him, the exalted, holy, supreme Buddha. Thou shalt see him, Sona, the Exalted One, the bringer of joy, the dispenser of joy, whose organs of life are placid, whose spirit is at rest, the supreme self-subduer and peace-possessor, the hero who has conquered self and watches himself, who holds his desires in check." And Sona prepares for the journey to Savatthi, where Buddha is tarrying in the Jetavana, the garden of Anathapindika.

Pilgrims of this class come together where Buddha is sojourning, and the meetings and greetings of the arriving groups with the clerical brothers who live on the spot, the interchange of news, the arrangement of lodging-places for the itinerant monks, then not unfrequently caused those noisy clamours to strange to western ears, which seem to be inseparable from such occasions in the East, and which are most earnestly deprecated more than once in the sacred texts.

The fame of Buddha's person also drew together from far and near crowds of such as stood without the narrower circles of the community. "To the ascetic Gautama," people remarked to one another, "folks are coming, passing through kingdoms and countries, to converse with him." Often, when he happened to halt near the residences of potentates, kings, princes, and dignitaries, came on wagons or on elephants, to put questions to him or to bear the doctrine. Such a scene is described to us in the opening of the "Sutra on the fruit of asceticism," and reappears in pictorial representation among the reliefs at Bharhut. The Sutra relates how king Ajatasatru of Magadha in the "Lotus-night," that is in the full moon of October, the time when the lotus blooms, is sitting in the open-air, surrounded by his nobles on the flat roof of his palace. "Then," as it is recorded in that text, "the king of Magadha, Ajatasatru, the son of the Videha princess, uttered this exclamation: 'fair in sooth is this moonlight night, lovely in sooth is this moonlight night, grand in sooth is this moon-light night, heart-enchanting in sooth is this moonlight night, happy omens in sooth giveth this moonlight night. What Samana or what Brahman shall I go to hear, that my soul may be cheered when I hear him?" One counsellor names this and another that teacher: but Jivaka, the king's physician, sits on in silence. "Then the king of Magadha, Ajatasatru, the son of Vidaha spoke to Jivaka Komarabhacca: "Why art thou silent, friend Jivaka?'— 'Sire, in my mango grove he resteth, the exalted, holy, supreme Buddha, with a great band of disciples, with three hundred monks. Of him, the exalted Gautama, there spreadeth through the world lordly praise in these terms: He, the Exalted One, is the holy, supreme Buddha, the wise, the learned, the blessed, who knoweth the universe, the hightest, who tameth man like an ox, the teacher of gods and men, the exalted Buddha. Sire, go to hear him, the Exalted One: perchance, if thou hearest him, the Exalted One, thy soul, O Sire, may be refreshed"—and the king orders elephants to be prepared for himself and the queens, and the royal procession moves with burning torches on that moonlight night through the Gate of Rajagaha to Jivaka's mango grove, where Buddha is said to have held with the king the famous discourse "On the fruits of asceticism," at the end of which the king joined the Church as a lay-member.

The pictures, which the sacred texts give us of meetings and scenes like these, are very numerous: no doubts, the concourse which moved round Buddha's person is faithfully reflected in them. If Buddha comes to the free towns, we hear of his meetings with the noble families who exercise rule there: at Kusinara the Mallas, the ruling family of that town, go out to meet him and issue an edict: "whosoever goeth not to meet the Exalted One is liable to a penalty of five hundred pieces." From the gayest of the Indian free towns, the dissolute and wealthy Vaishali, the distinguished youths of the Lichchhavi house drive out to Buddha with their splendid teams, some in white garments with white trimmings, and others in yellow, black or red. Buddha says to his disciples, when he sees the Lichchhavi youth coming in the distance: "who ever, my disciples, among you hath not seen the divine host of the thirty-three gods, let him seize on the host of the Lichchhavis, let him behold the host of the Licchavis, let him view the host of the Lichchhavis." And besides the noble youth of Vaishali, there comes driving with not less pomp, to see Buddha, another celebrity of the town, the courtesan Ambapali. She invites Buddha and his disciples to dine in her mango grove, and when they assemble there and dinner is cover, she makes a gift of the grove to Buddha and the Church.

To complete the picture of the society which existed round Buddha, the class of dialecticians and theological disputants of all shades already flourishing prosperously in India at this period, must not be allowed to pass unnoticed: the distinguished Brahman, endowed by the king with the revenues of a village, who comes conducted by a great following, the young Brahmanical scholar, who is sent forth by his teacher, to bring him tidings of the much-spoken-of Gautama, and who is eager to win his spurs in a logical dispute with the renowned adversary, countless sphistic hair-splitters, persons of religious as well as worldly standing, who have heard that the Samana Gautama is staying in the neighbourhood, and who prepare to lay traps for him with two-edged questions and to entangle him in contradiction, whatever be the answer he may give.

A frequent end of these dialogues is of course that the vanquished opponents or the partisans of Buddha invite him and his disciples to dine on the following day: "Sire, may it

please the Exalted One and his disciples to dine with me to-morrow." And Buddha permits his consent to be inferred from his silence. On the following day about noon, when dinner is ready, the host sends word to Buddha: "Sire, it is time, the dinner is ready;" and Buddha takes his overcoat and alms-bowl and goes with his disciples into the town or village to the residence of his host After dinner at which well-to-do hosts offer, except meat dishes, the best which the not-very-luxurious cooks of those days could provide, and at which the host himself and his family serve the guests, when the customary hand washing is over, the host takes his place with his family at Buddha's side, and Buddha addresses to them a word of spiritual admonition and instruction.

If the day be not filled by an invitation, Buddha, according to monastic usages, undertakes his circuit of the village or town in quest of alms. He, as well as his disciples, rises early, when the light of dawn appears in the sky, and spends the early moments in spiritual exercises or in converse with his disciples, and then he proceeds with his companions towards the town. In the days when his reputation stood at its highest point, and his name was named throughout India among the foremost names, one might day by day see that man before whom kings bowed themselves, walking about, alms-bowl in hand, through streets and alleys, from house to house, and without uttering any request, with downcast look, stand silently waiting until a morsel of food was thrown into his bowl.

When he had returned from his begging excursion and had eaten his repast, there followed, as the Indian climate demanded, a time, if not of sleep, at any rate of peaceful retirement. Resting in a quiet chamber, or better still in the cool shades of dense foliage, he passed the sultry, close hours of the afternoon in solitary contemplation, until the evening came on and drew him once more from holy silence to the bustling concourse of friend and foe.

BUDDHA'S DISCIPLES

From the exterior aspect of that which we must be satisfied to accept as a picture of this life, our description now turns to the interior. We have yet to acquaint ourselves with the circle of

those to whom Buddha's teaching was especially directed, the disciples who endeavoured by following him to find for their souls the path to rest.

To all appearance this circle of disciples was even in the earliest days by no means a free society, bound together by merely internal cords, something like the band of Jesus' disciples. We can scarcely doubt that it was from the beginning much more of a community of ascetics organized according to fixed rules a formal monastic order with Buddha at its head. The forms and external technique of a religious life of this class had been already established in India long before the age of Buddha: a monastic order appeared then to the religious consciousness to be the reasonable, natural form, in which alone the life of those who are associated in a common struggle for release could find expression. As there was nothing in Buddha's attitude generally which could be regarded by his contemporaries as unusual, he had not to introduce anything fundamentally new; on the contrary, it would have been an innovation if he had undertaken to preach a way of salvation which did not proceed on a basis of monastic observances.

The standing formula with which Buddha is supposed to have received the first believers into this circle has been preserved to us: "Come hither, O monk; well preached is the doctrine, walk in purity, to make an end of all suffering." We know not whether this tradition rests on any authentic memory, but the thought which here finds expression seems quite correct, that the circle of Buddha's disciples was from the very beginning a monastic brotherhood, into which the postulant had to be admitted by an appointed step, with the utterance of a prescribed formula.

The yellow garment of the monk and tonsure are the visible tokens of separation from the world and worldly life; the severance of the family bond, the renunciation of all property, rigorous chastity, are the self-evident obligations of the "ascetics who adhere to the son of the Sakya house" (Samana Sakyaputtiya) the oldest term with which the people designated the members of the young Church.

We know not how far the forms of that corporate life, of which we shall give a fuller description later on, severally extend back to Buddha's own time, of which we are now speaking. It is

possible, those half-monthly confessional gatherings, to which so great significance is attached in the simple cult of ancient Buddhism, may have been observed by Buddha himself with the disciples who were with him. The tone which prevailed in the assembly of the believers was calm, composed, one might say, ceremonious. Were we permitted to judge by the impression conveyed to us by the sacred writings, we might opine that the sense of tranquil goodness and the quiet self-conscious joy, by which the associated life of these monks was pervaded, were not sufficient to compensate the lack of liveliness in expression and interchange of the experiences and emotions of each individual. Occasions of rapture were not unfrequent, and were desired as a high spiritual good they consisted rather in quiet transport than in ecstatic excitement. Each aspired to them for himself alone; they knew nothing of that popular enthusiasm which seizes on whole assemblies, where one carries the others away and common emotion excites similar visions in the imagination of hundreds. To boast before the brothers of experiences of ecstasy was strictly forbidden.

The distinction of caste had no place in this band. Whosoever will be Buddha's disciple renounces his caste. In one of the speeches which he sacred writing put in Buddha's mouth, it is said on this subject: 'As the great streams, O disciples, however many they be, the Ganga, Yamuna, Aciravati, Sarabhu, Mahi, when they reach the great ocean, those their old name and their old descent, and bear only one name, 'the great ocean,' so also my disciples, these four castes, Nobles, Brahmans, Vaisya and Shudra, when they, in accordance with the law and doctrine which the Perfect One has preached forsake their home and go into homelessness, lose their old name and old paternity, and bear only the one designation, 'Ascetics, who follow the son of the Sakya house." And in the discourse "On the fruit of asceticism," in which Buddha answers king Ajatasattu's question regarding the reward of him who leaves his home and devotes himself to the religious life, Buddha speaks of this matter: if a slave or servant of king put on the yellow garment, and lives as a monk without reproach in thought, word and deed, "wouldest thou, then," asks Buddha of the king, "say well, then, let this man still be my slave and servant, to stand in my presence, bow before me, take upon himself to perform my behests, live to

minister to my enjoyments, speak deferentially, hang upon my word?" And the king answers, "No sire; I should bow before him, stand before him, invite him to sit down, give him what he needed in the way of clothing, food, shelter, and of medicine, when he is ill, and I should assure him of protection and watch is becoming.'

Thus the religious garb of Buddha's disciples makes lord and commons Brahmans and Shudras equal. The gospel of deliverance is not confined to the high-born alone, but is given "to the welfare of many people, to the joy of many people, to the blessing, welfare and joy of gods and men."

We can quite understand how historical treatment in our times, which takes a delight in deepening its knowledge of religious movements by bringing into prominence or discovering their social bearings, has attributed to Buddha the role of a social reformer, who is conceived to have broken the chains of caste and won for the poor and humble their place in the spiritual kingdom which he founded. But any one who attempts to describe Buddha's labours must, out of love for truth, resolutely combat the notion that the fame of such an exploit, in whatever way he may depict it to himself, belongs to Buddha. It any one speaks of a democratic elements in Buddhism, he must bear in mind that the conception of any reformation of national life, every notion in any way based on the foundation of a ideal earthly kingdom, of a religious Utopia, was quite foreign to this fraternity. There was nothing resembling a social upheaval in India. Buddha's spirit was a stranger to that enthusiasm, without which no one can pose as the champion of the oppressed against the oppressor. Let the State and society remain what they are; the religious man, who as a monk has renounced the world, has no part in its care and occupations. Caste has no value for him, for everything earthly has ceased to affect his interests, but it never occurs to him to exercise his influence for its abolition or for the mitigation of severity of its rules for those who have lagged behind in worldly surroundings.

While it is true that Buddhism does not reserve to Brahmans only the right of entry into a spiritual life, we must not fall into the error of supposing that Buddha was the first to stand up for this cause and do battle for it. Before his time, probably long before his time, there were religious orders, which received

members of all castes, both males and females.* Side by side with the first exclusive religious order of ancient times, the Brahmans, there existed long ere this period, equal to the Brahmans in public estimation, the second religious order of the Samana, *i.e.*, ascetics, admission to whose ranks was open to every one who was resolved to renounce a worldly career, whether he was high born or low born. This fact is recognized in the Buddhist tradition as indisputable, as something of which there is no recollection that it had ever been otherwise. There is no need to overrating the value of these traditions, to find in them a guarantee that Buddha did not deem it necessary to undertake a struggle against the leaders of society and thought on behalf of the spiritual rights of the poor and humble: and least of all is it possible that in such a struggle lay the essential character of his life.

This by no means ends all that might be said against the historically untrue conception of Buddha as the victorious champion of the lower classes against a haughty aristocracy of birth and brain.

If one speaks of the equality of all within the pale of Buddha's confraternity, it is not altogether superfluous to contract the theory, which was prevalent on this subject among Buddhist, with the actual facts.

It is the case, as we have seen, that the Buddhist theory acknowledged the equal right of all persons without distinction to be received into the order, and it could not but acknowledge it, or it would have given up the consequences of its own principles. And indeed it does not appear to have been likely to occur that postulants should be rejected contrary to the law, on the score of caste.** Nevertheless it seems as if the actual composition of the band, which surrounded Buddha's person, and the composition of the early Church especially, was by no

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* *Vide* antea, p. 63

** Otherwise we should expect to find in the *Vinaya*, the codex of ecclesiastical law, in which the section treating of the reception into the order is especially detailed, distinct regulations directed against this abuse. The *Vinaya* shows clearly that necessity existed much more to prevent improper concessions of admission (*i.e.*, in the case of persons by whose entry into the order the rights of the Third might have been infringed), than to guard against improper refusals of admission.

means in due keeping with the theory of equality: if even Brahman exclusiveness was not maintained in its full extent, still a marked leaning to aristocracy seems to have lingered in ancient Buddhism as an inheritance from the past. The sacred writings, in what they openly record as well as in what they imply between the lines, give us sufficient means of drawing a conclusion as to these matters. In the first great address which tradition puts in Buddha's mouth, the sermon at Benaras, there occurs an expression, which unwittingly characterizes, and withal criticizes, as briefly as it did sharply, the state of the early Church. Buddha speaks on that occasion of the highest consummation of religious aspirations, for the sake of which "the sons of noble families (*kulaputta*) leave their homes and go into homelessness." The disciples who gathered round the teacher coming from the nobles house of the Sakyas, the descendant of king Ikshvaku, were themselves for the most part "sons of noble families." If we review the ranks of personages, whom we are accustomed to meet in the texts, we find it clearly indicated, that the real situation was by this phrase described conformably to fact; here are young Brahmans like Sariputta, Moggallana, Kaccana, nobles like Ananda, Rahula, Aniruddha, sons of the great merchants and highest municipal dignitaries, like Yasa, invariably men and youths of the most respectable classes of society, and with an education in keeping with their social status.* Besides there were the numberous ascetics of other sects, converts to the faith of Buddha, who undoubtedly occupied, by birth and breeding, the same social position.† I am

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* Among the disciples who surrounded Buddha, the barber Upali is picked out as being a man of low position. Not quite correctly: as barber of the Sakyas he was a courtier, and appears in the tradition as the personal friend of the Sakya youths. Vide *"Cullavagga,"* vii, 1-4, and, as to the courtly standing of king's barbers, *cf. "Jataka,"* i. p. 342.

† It may be observed in this connection that, according to Buddhist dogmatic, a Buddha can be born only as a Brahman or as a noble: in this we have it clearly indicated, that the distinctions of caste have by no means vanished or become worthless to the Buddhist consciousness. There is still much else which points in this direction with characteristic significance. In the narrative of a respected young Brahman who appears in the cloister-garden and asks after Buddha, it is recorded: "Thus the disciples communed among themselves, saying: this youth Ambattha is respected and of high family, and he is the pupil of a respected Brahman, Pokkaarasati. Truly not undesired by the Exalted One is

not aware of any instance in which a Chandala—the Pariah of that age—is mentioned in the sacred writings as a member of the order. For the lower order of the people, for those born to toil in manual labour, hardened by the struggle for existence, the announcement of the connection of misery with all forms of existence was not made.* nor was the dialectic of the law of the painful concatenation of causes and effects calculated to satisfy "the poor in spirit." "To the wise belongeth this law," it is said, "not to the foolish." Very unlike the word of that Man, who

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such an interview with such noble youths" (Ambutthasutta). and Buddha's beloved disciple, Ananda, says to his master with reference to a man of the noble house of Mallas, the rulers over Kusinara: "Sire, this Malla Roja is a respected, well-known person. The good will of such a respected and well-known person towards this doctrine and ordinance is of the highest importance. So then, sire, may the Exalted One be pleased to bring it about that the Malla Roja shall be won to this doctrine and ordinance." And Buddha willingly complies with this request of his disciple (*"Mahavagga,"* vi, 36). If the texts permit any person at random, not specified by name, to come to Buddha and to be taught by him, they describe such a person as a rule as "a certain Brahman" (especially numerous instances occur in the "Anguttara-Nikaya, Tika-Nipata"). The text of Jains also furnish similar cases. In the simile of the lotus flower, which is to be delivered from the miry earth (in the Sutrakridanga), the flower is not any man at large in need of deliverance, but "a king."

* By this it is not meant to imply that people of humble origin in no case appear in the old texts as members of the order. Interesting, but standing quite alone, is the narrative which is attributed to the Thera (Elder) Sunita in the collection of *"Sayings of the Elders"* (Theragatha): "I have come of a humble family, I was poor and needy. The work which I performed was lowly, sweeping the withered flowers (out of temples and palaces). I was despised of men, looked down upon and lightly esteemed. With submissive mien I showed respect to many. Then I beheld the Buddha with his band of monks, as he passed, the great hero, into the most important town of Magadha. Then I cast away my burden and ran to bow myself in reverence before him. From pity for me he halted, that highest among men. Then I bowed myself at the Master's feet, stepped up to him and begged him, the highest among all beings, to accept me as a monk. Then said unto me the gracious Master, the compassionator of all worlds: 'Come hither, O monk;' that was the initiation which I received." (Sunita further relates how he withdrew to the forest and there wrapt in contemplation, longed for deliverence. The gods came to him and paid him reverence.) "Then the Master saw me, how the host of the gods surrounded me. A smile broke over his treatures, and he spoke these words: "By holy zeal and chaste living, by restraint and self-repression, thereby a man becomes, a Brahman: that is the highest Brahmanhood"

suffered "little children to come unto him, for of such is the kingdom of God." For children and those who are like children, the arms of Buddha are not opened.

Of the several personages in the narrower circle of disciplines we cannot expect to have a life-like individual portrait. Here, as everywhere else in the literature of ancient India, we always meet merely with types, not individualities. We have already touched on this peculiarity: each of the chief disciples resembles every other, so that one might be taken for the other, the same conglomerate of perfect purity, perfect internal peace, perfect devotion to Buddha. These are not real individuals but the incarnated *esprit de corps* of the pupils of Buddha.

The names and the more important surroundings in the life of the individual disciples are undoubtedly authentic. Tradition accords the foremost place among them to those two Brahmans, bound to each other from youth up in bonds of closest friendship, *viz.*, Sariputta and Moggallana who meet us among the converts gained by Buddha in the outset of his career (p. 134, *seq.*). Throughout his and their long life they followed him faithfully, and they died within a short interval of each other in extreme old age, not long before Buddha's death. It is Sariputta whom Buddha is believed to have declared to be the most prominent among his followers: he is, it is said,* like the eldest son of a world-ruling monarch, who, following the king, helps him to put in motion the wheel of sovereignty, which he sets rolling over the earth.† Nearest to these two Brahmans, among those who stand closest to Buddha, is his own cousin, *Ananda*, who, when still a youth, adopted the garb of a monk in company with a whole group of young nobles of Sakya family;** his

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* "Anguttara Nikaya, Pancaka-Nipata."

† By this description of Sariputta as "eldest son of the Church," it was not contemplated, however, that he might be called to be Buddha's successor, the head of the Church after the Master's death. The notion of any head of the Church but Buddha himself is, as we shall see foreign to Buddhism, independently of the fact that tradition could not have chosen a person more ill-adopted to give expression to this idea, than a disciple, who died before Buddha.

** One of the few chronological statements contained in the sacred texts states that this happened twenty-five years before Buddha's death ("Theragathha," fol gai of the Phayre MS).

brother Devadatta, whom we shall discover to be the apostate and traitor in the band, was likewise among these Sakyas. The care of Buddha's person and the ordinary necessities of his daily life, were committed to Ananda's hands: often, when Buddha had left all the other disciples behind, it is Ananda alone who accompanies him, and the narrative of Buddha's last journeyings and of his farewell address gives, as we shall see, to Ananda a *role*, which may well entitle him to be above all others known as the disciple "whom the Master loved." Another member of this select circle was Upali, who had formerly served the noble Sakyas as a barber, and who entered Buddha's order at the same time with his masters. He is frequently mentioned in the sacred writings as the first propounder of the ecclesiastical law of the young Church; it is jot improbable that he had a special share in the framing and the scholastic transmission of the old confessional liturgy, from which has sprung the whole ecclesiastical literature of Buddhism. Buddha's own son, Rahula, whom he had begotten before leaving his father's roof, also entered the order, and is not unfrequently mentioned with the great disciples already named; a prominent part, however, he does not seem to have played in this band.

The Judas Iscariot among Buddha's disciples—except that his machinations were unsuccessful—is, as narrated, Buddha's own cousin, Devadatta.* Stimulated by ambition he seems to have aimed at stepping into the place of Buddha, who had already grown old, and at getting the management of the community into his own hands. When Buddha does not permit this, he attempts, in conjunction with Ajatasatru, the son of king Bimbsara, who is aiming at his father's throne, to put the Master out of the way. Their projects fails: miracles are related, by which the life of the Holy One is preserved: the defeated murderers are attacked by fear and trembling, when they come near Buddha; he speaks gently to them, and they are converted to the faith; the piece of rock which is intended to crush Buddha, is interrupted by two converging mountain peaks, so that it merely grazes Buddha's foot: the wild elephant, which is driven against Buddha in a narrow street, remains standing before him, paralyzed by

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* The oldest form of the narratives regarding Devadatta is to be found in the seventh book of the "Cullavagga."

the magic power of his "friendly thought," and then turns tamely back. At last Devadatta is said to have attempted to obtain the leadership of the Church in another way. He makes five propositions, of which we possess an account seemingly quite above suspicion.† On a number of points which affect monastic life, on which Buddha allowed a certain amount of freedom of action at the discretion of the individual member, Devadatta attempted to substitute a more rigorous ascetic praxis for these liberal regulations; for instance, he insisted that a monk should have his camping-place all his life long in the jungle, while Buddha permitted him to live in the neighbourhood of towns and villages, and was himself accustomed to live there; a monk was, furthermore, to live only on the contributions which he collected on his begging excursions, and was not to accept any invitations to dine with the pious laity; he was to dress himself only in clothes made of gathered rags and more of the like. Whoever acted otherwise, would be punished with expulsion from the community. Devadatta proposed these rules as the fundamental principles of a true and rigid spiritual life, in opposition to Buddha's arrangements as a lax concession to human frailties, and he tried to draw off to himself the monks around Buddha: if we may believe tradition, with a transient success, which then turned into total discomfiture. Devadatta is said to have come to a deplorable end.*

These are the most prominent figures in the band of Buddha's disciples; but disciples in deed and in truth those alone are who give up all that is earthly to, as the formula puts it, "walk in holiness, to put an end to all suffering:" monks and nuns, with the Indian designations, "*bhikkhu*" (beggar, m.) and "bhikkhuni" (beggar, f.) But, as in the history of Jesus, Lazarus and Nicodemus, Mary and Martha, stand side by side with Peter

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† "Cullavagga." It is possible, but naturally it cannot be demonstrated, that the history of these five propositions and the schism brought about by Devadatta are the only historical kernal of these narratives, and that the attempts at murder are an invention, which the orthodox Buddhist tried to tack on to the memory of the hated heretic.

* According to the later widespread version of the narrative, the jaws of hell opened and swallowed him alive; the narrative of the "Cullavagga," as a matter of course, represents him going to hell, bu says of this departure to hell in living form.

and John, so Buddhism also, side by side with the male and female mendicants recognize male and female votaries (*upasaka*, m.; *upasika*, f.) of Buddha and his law, believes, who honour Buddha as the holy preacher of deliverance and his word as the word of truth, but who remain in their wordly position in wedlock, in the possession of their property, and make themselves useful to the Church, as far as they can, by gifts and charities of every kind. Yet the monks alone, not they lay-adherents, are exclusively members of the Church.*

The formation of this wider circle of worldly believers has been regarded as an inconsistent relaxation of original Buddhism, as a concession on the part of clear and rigorous thought to practicability and the weakness of human nature. It has also been supposed that in the oldest texts the distinction to be found is only between professed believers, *i.e.*, monks, and non-believers, *i.e.*, the laity, but not that of believing monks and believing laity. This is wholly erroneous. The oldest traditions which we possess speak of the laity, who profess to be friends and votaries of Buddha and the order, and the nature of the case compels us to attach credit to those traditions. There must in fact, since ever there were mendicants monks in India, have also been pious laymen, who gave something to these religious beggars, and there must also soon have grown up, whether with

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* A close examination of the relations between the monks proper and lay-associates must obviously be reserved for the sketch of "Church Life" (part iii). It will suffice in this place to point out that the idea of lay-members (*upasaka*) in Buddhist Church law cannot be taken in the same sense as a technical terms as that of monks (*bhikkhu*): in the latter idea there is involved a definite *de jure* relationship, in the former the relationship is rather *de facto* than inherently *de jure*. For anyone to become a *bhikku* a special procedure is necessary on the part of the Church to complete the fact; the case of a person who desires to be considered an *upasaka* expresses this, of course, and the texts have in this case also, as for everything that occurs with frequency, a definite formula ("I take, sire, my refuge with the Exalted One, and with the Doctrine, and with the Order of the disciples; may the Exalted One accept me as his votary (*upasaka*) from this day forward through my life, me who have taken refuge with him"), but no special procedure follows, no recognition of the *upasaka* as such on the part of the Church. Furthermore there were no ties which prohibited the Buddhist *upasaka* from being at the same time the *upasaka* of another Church (*cf.* "*Cullav.*," v. 20, 3), so that it appears in every way impossible to identify the position of the *upasaka* with anything we understand to be among the components of a Church.

or without recognized forms and names, it is quite immaterial a certain relationship between definite monks or monastic orders and a definite laity, who felt themselves bound to each other, the one class to receive spiritual instruction, the other to obtain the little that they needed for their maintenance. And more than a connection of this class the relation which subsisted between Buddha's order and they lay-believers has not been.

Princes and nobles, Brahmans and merchants, we find among those who "took their refuge in Buddha, the Law, and the Order," *i.e.* who made their profession as lay-believers; the wealthy and the aristocrat, it seems, here also exceeded the poor; to reach the humble and wretched, the sorrowing, who endured yet another sorrow than the great universal sorrow of impermanence, was not the province of Buddhism.

Prominent among the "adherents" stand the two royal friends of Buddha, Bimbsara, the ruler of Magadha, and Pasenadi, the ruler of Kosala, both approximately of the same age as Buddha and throughout their lives true protectors of his Church. Then comes Jivaka, the renowned physician-in-ordinary to Bimbsara,* who was appointed by the king to undertake medical attendance, not on him and his women only, but also on Buddha and Buddha's order; next, the merchant Anathapindika, who had presented to the order the garden of Jetavana, Buddha's favourite place of resort. In all important places which Buddha touched in the course of his wanderings, he found bands of such lay-believers, who went out to meet him, arranged for assemblies, in which Buddha spoke, who gave him and his companions their meals, who placed their residences and gardens in at their disposal, or made them over to the order as Church property. If he went wandering about with hundreds of his disciples, pious votaries were sure to accompany him on his journey with carts and wagons, and they brought necessaries of life, salt, and oil with them, for each in his turn to prepare the wanderer a meal, and crowds of needy folk followed in their train to snatch the remains of these provisions.

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* The story of Jivaka and the wonderful cures which he effects is related in the eighth Book of the "Mahavagga."

WOMEN

Buddha and his disciples did not and could not fail to come into contact with women: every begging excursion,* every repast at the house of a lay-member, at which the female members of the household appeared with the master of the house and listened after the repast to spiritual instruction, necessarily involved such meetings. The seclusion of women from the outer world, which later custom has enjoined, was quite unheard of in ancient India; women took their share in the intellectual life of the people, and the most delicate and tenderest of the epic poems of the Indians show us how well they could understand and appreciate true womanhood.

But was it possible for a mind like Buddha, who in the severe determination of renunciation had torn himself away from all that is attractive and lovely in this world, was he given the faculty to understand and to value woman's nature? And were those ideals, which evoked the exertions of Buddha's disciples, calculated in their impersonal transcendentalism, to kindle and satisfy women's hearts, to be even realized in their rigorous and stern consequences by womanly feeling?

Women are to the Buddhist of all the snares which the tempter has spread for men, the most dangerous; in women are embodied all the powers of infatuation which bind the mind of the world. The ancient story books of the Buddhists are full of narratives and illustrations of the incorrigible artifice of women. "Unfathomably deep, like a fish's course in the water," the moral of one such history runs, "is the character of women, robbers with many artifices, with whom truth is hard to find, to whom a lie is like the truth and the truth like a lie."— "Master," Buddha is asked by Ananda, "how shall we behave before women?"— "You should shun their gaze, Ananda."—But if we do see them, master, what then are we to do?"—"Not speak to them, Ananda"—"But if we do speak to them, master, what then?"— "Then you must watch over yourselves, Ananda."

We are told, and some trustworthy memory may possibly

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* It was, as a rule, women who, in the houses of the laity, answered the monks who went on begging excursions, and handed them food into their bowls— *Cullavagga*, viii, 5, 2.

be at the bottom of this tradition, that for a long time only men were permitted to be received into Buddha's order, and that it was only with grave misgiving that Buddha yielded to the pressure of his foster-mother, Mahaprajapati, to receive women also as his disciples.*

"As in a field of rice, Ananda, which is in full vigour, the disease breaks out which is called mildew,—then the vigour of that field of rice continues no longer,—so also, Ananda, if women be admitted in a doctrine and to an order to renounce the world and go into homelessness, holy living does not last long.—If, Ananda, in the doctrine and the order, which the Perfect One has founded, it were not conceded to women to go out from their homes into homelessness, holy living would remain preserved, Ananda, for a long time; the pure doctrine would abide for a thousand years. But now, Ananda, that, in the doctrine and order, which the Perfect One has founded, women renounce the world and go into homelessness, under these circumstances, Ananda, holy living will not be long preserved; only five hundred years, Ananda, will the doctrine of the truth abide."

The narratives of the sacred writings, accordingly, unmistakably keep the female disciples, who have donned the garb of nuns, at a certain distance from the master, both in spiritual offices and in daily life. Buddhism has not had a Mary of Bethany. Buddha announces the rules, which he lays down for the order of nuns, to the monks and merely causes them to reach the nuns through them: and these regulations keep the nuns as regards the monks in perfectly submissive subjection: throughout they are treated merely as a tolerated, and reluctantly tolerated, element in the Church. Not one of the female disciples is near the master when he is dying, and it is made a matter of reproach to Ananda, that he has granted access to Buddha's corpse to women, whose tears bedewed the corpse. "O Kriton, let some one lead this woman home," says Socrates, when

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* *"Cullavagga,"* x, I. Agreeably to this, nuns do not appear as disciples in the narratives of Buddha's first experiences as a teacher.—The confession formulary, "Patimokkha," notably one of the oldest literary monuments of Buddhism, mentions the nuns at every step, and king Asoka also remembers them in the Edict of Bairat.

Xanthippe appears in his prison to take a last farewell of him.

Thus, between the spirit, which animated Buddha and Buddha's disciples, and that which woman's nature is and gives and seeks, there was a fundamental difference, which could not be reconciled. But instead we find the women of India all the more zealously engaged as fellow-labourers through charity, assistance, and services, in those practical spheres which the young Church opened up for religious usefulness. The stupendous munificence, which met the Buddhist order at every step, proceeded in great measure, perhaps in the greatest measure, from women.

In the sacred texts the type of a female votary of Buddha, as she ought to be, with her indefatigable zeal as a giver and as a helper, is the honourable matron Visakha. She is a rich citizen commoner at Savatthi, the chief town of Kosala, the mother of many blooming children, the grandmother of countless grandchildren. Every one invites Visakha to sacrificial ceremonies and banquets, and has the dishes offered to her first; a guest like her brings luck to the house. It is Visakha, who is represented to have made the first liberal preparations on a large scale to provide for Buddha's disciples who came to Savatthi, the chief necessaries of life. I here insert the narrative in point;* it gives at once an intelligible picture of what people in the young brotherhood thought as to giving and receiving and as to which of the two is the more blessed: the only benefactor, who must be thanked, is not he who gives anything to Buddha and his order, but Buddha who accepts the gift and thereby puts the giver in the position to practice the virtue of charity and to become partaker of that reward, which is promised to this virtue.

Buddha is one day dining with his disciples at Visakha's. After dinner Visakha approaches him and says: "Eight requests, sire, I make of the Exalted One"—"The Perfect, Visakha, are too exalted to be able to grant every wish."—"What is allowable, sire, and what is unblamable."—"Then speak, Visakha."

"I desire as long as I live, sire, to give the brotherhood clothes for the rainy season, to give food to stranger monks who arrive here, to give food to monks who are passing through, to give food to sick brethren, to give food to the attendants on the

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* *"Mahavagga,"* viii, 15.

sick, to give medicine to the sick, to distribute a daily dole of cooked rice, to give bathing dresses to the sisterhood of nuns."

"What object hast thou in view, Visakha, that thou approachest the Perfect One with these eight wishes?"

(Visakha now explains her several wishes. So she says:)

"A monk, O sire, who comes from foreign parts, does not know the streets and lanes and he goes about weary to collects alms. When he has partaken of the food which I shall provide for the monks who arrive, he may then, when he has inquired the ways and the streets, go out refreshed to collect alms. This end, O sire, I have in view: therefore I desire as long as I live to give food to monks when they arrive.—And again, sire, a monk who is travelling through will, if he has to seek for food for himself, fall behind his caravan, or will arrive late when he intends to rest, and he will walk on his journey wearily. If he has partaken of the food which I shall have provided for monks who are passing through, he will not fall behind his caravan, and he will arrive in proper time at the place where he intends to rest, and he will walk on his journey refreshed. This object I have in view, sire; therefore I desire, as long as I live, to give food to the monks who are passing through.—It has happened, sire, that nuns were bathing naked together in the river Aeiravati (Rapti) at the same bathing place with prostitutes. The postitutes, sire, mocked the nuns, saying: 'Most respected ones, what do you need of your holy life, as long as you are young? Is it not proper to gratify desire? When you are old you may begin a holy life, so both will be yours, this life and that which is to come.' When the nuns, were thus mocked by the prostitutes, they were put out of temper. Improper sire, is nakedness for a woman, obscene and objectionable. This, sire, I consider; therefore I desire so long as I live to provide bathing-dresses for the sisterhood of nuns."

And Buddha says: "Good, Visakha! thou doest well, that thou seeking this reward askest the Perfect One for these eight wishes. I grant thee these eight wishes Visakha."

Then the Holy One praised Visakha, the mother of Migara, in these words:

"Who gives food and drink with generous readiness,
The follower of the Holy One, rich in virtues,
Who, without grudging, gives gifts for the reward of

heaven,
Who puts an end to pain, is ever intent on bringing joy,
Obtains the reward of a heavenly life.
She walks the shining, commendable path,
Free from pain, she joyfully reaps for a very long period
The reward of good deeds in the happy realm of heaven above."

Pictures like this of Visakha, benefactresses of the Church, with their inexhaustible religious zeal, and their not less inexhaustible resources of money, are certainly, if anything ever was, drawn from the life of India in those days: they cannot be left out of sight, if we desire to get an idea of the actors who made the oldest Buddhist community what it was.

II

Now that we have made the acquaintance of disciples and friends, our next inquiry is about the enemies and about the battles in which the new gospel had to prove its strength. If we might believe the Buddhist texts on this subject, Buddha's career was nothing but one great uninterrupted victorious march. Wherever he comes, the masses, it is told us time after time, flock to him. The other teachers are deserted; they are silent if he "raises his lion voice in the assemblies." Whoever hears his discourse, is converted.

This picture certainly does not wholly correspond with the truth, and we can, on some points at least, learn the actual fact tolerably well.

Above all it must be borne in mind that Buddha did not find himself like other reformers face to face with a great, united power, capable of resistance, and determined to resist, in which was embodied the old which he attacked and desired to replace by the new.

People are accustomed to speak of Buddhism as opposed to Brahmanism, somewhat in the way that it is allowable to speak of Lutheranism as an opponent of the papacy. But if they mean, as they might be inclined from this parallel to do, to picture to themselves a kind of Brahmanical Church, which is assailed by Buddha, which opposed its resistance to its operations like the

resistance of the party in possession to an upstart, they are mistaken. Buddha did not find himself in the presence of a Brahmanical hierarchy, embracing the whole people, overshading the whole popular life. In the eastern districts religious movement, allowing itself free play, had ramified in many separate directions: sects upon sects exist side by side, at peace or at war circumstances determined. The champions of the *Veda*, of Brahmanism, are really not more than one among many parties, and indeed, to all appearance, by no means an especially powerful one. They wanted altogether compact organisation; least of all did they at any rate in the territories in which Buddha's work was prosecuted, represent a state-Church or had they power to enforce their commands by the assistance of worldly power. Their personal prestige was by no means undisputed there. From the great Brahman, who as an officer of high rank oppressed the people in the king's name and then deceived the king in turn, down to the small clerics, who, if invited to dine, made themselves disagreeably conspicuous by their behaviour at table, their personal appearance and manner of life provoked criticism, and men did not withhold that criticism. Long since a Samana (an ascetic) had come to be not a hair lighter in popular estimation than a Brahman. The *Veda*, the great patent of nobility of the Brahman class could not possibly give them a claim to power and popularity, such even as that the Pharisees had in the Mosaic law. Who among the people cared for the *Veda*, for the abstruse theories of sacrifice, the language of which no one understood, or for the ancient hymns, the language of which was still less understood, the hymns to forgotten deities, the heirloom of grammarians and antiquaries? The prepitiatory sacrifice with its plain external conception of guilt and purification, behind which the greedy exaction of a priestcraft lay concealed, must have kept alive in earnest and clear thinking natures, ill-will towards this priesthood.

Thus Brahmanism was not to Buddha an enemy whose conquest he would have been unable to effect. He may often have found the local influence of respected Brahmans an obstacle in his path,* but against this a hundred other Brahmans

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* The insignificant part which the western portions of Hindustan (the countries of the Kuru-pancala, and so forth) play in the narration of Buddha's wander-

stood by him as his disciples or had declared for him as lay members.* Here no struggle on a large scale has taken place. The Brahmans had not the weapons of the world without at their disposal in such a warfare, and where the arbitrament was of intellectual weapons, they were sure to lose.

Buddha discredited the sacrificial system; he censured with bitter irony the knowledge of Vedic scribes as sheer folly, if not as shameless swindle;. Brahmanical pride of caste was not more gently handled. He who repeats the lays and sayings of the poetic sages of antiquity and then fancies himself a sage, is like a plebeian or a slave, who should mount up to the place from which a king has addressed his retinue, and speak the same words and then fancy himself also a king.† The pupil believes what the teacher has believed, the teacher what he has received from the teachers before him. "Like a chain of blind men, I take it, is the discourse of the Brahmans: he who is in front sees nothing, he who is in the middle sees nothing, he who is behind sees nothing, what then? Is not, if this be so, the faith of the Brahmans vain?"‡

The classical expression of the views of the old Buddhist Church, and, we say of Buddha, regarding the value of the Vedic sacrificial cult, is contained in a conversation of Buddha with a Brahman of position, who had asked Buddha about the essentials of a proper sacrifice.**

Buddha then narrates the story of a powerful and successful king of bygone days, who, after splendid victories and the conquest of the whole earth, formed the resolution of making a great offering to the gods. He summoned his family priest and

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ings arises not only from their remoteness, but also in a not less degrees from the more powerful position which the Brahmans occupied there, in the old home of the Vedic faith. When the law of Manu (9,225) gives authority for expelling all heretical people from the State, there is in this a claim of Brahmanism which a code framed in the east could scarcely have dared to advance.

* It is worthy of observation that the usage of the Buddhist texts in no way connects with the word "Brahman" the notion of an enemy to the cause of Buddha, in the way that in the New Testament Pharisees and Scribes appear as the standing enemies of Jesus.

† Sic Ambattasutta (Digha-Nikaya).

‡ Cankisuttanta (Majjhima N.).

** Kutadantasutta of the Digha-Nikaya.

asked his instructions, as to how he should set about his project. The priest admonishes him before offering a sacrifice, to establish first of all peace, prosperity, and security in his kingdom. Not until all injustices in the land are repaired, does he proceed to sacrifice. And at his sacrifice no life of sentient creature is taken; no cattle and sheep are killed; no trees are hewn down; no grass is cut. The servants of the king perform their work in connection with the sacrifice, not under pressure and in tears, in fear of the overseer's verge each works willingly, as his own inclination promotes him. Libations of milk, oil, and honey are offered, and thus the king's sacrifice is performed. But there is, Buddha goes on to say, yet another offering, easier to perform than that, and yet higher and more blessed: where men make gifts to pious monks, where men build dwelling-places for Buddha and his order. And there is yet a higher offering: where a man with believing heart takes his refuge with Buddha, with the Doctrine, with the Order, when a man robs no being of its life, when a man puts far from him lying and deceit. And there is yet a higher offering: where a man separates as a monk from joy and sorrow and sinks himself in holy repose. But the highest offering, which a man can bring, and the highest blessing of which he can be made participator, is, when he obtains deliverance and gains this knowledge: I shall not again return to this world. This is the highest perfection of all offering.

Thus speaks Buddha; the Brahman hears his discourse believingly, and says: "I take my refuge with Buddha, with the Doctrine and with the Order." He had himself intended to perform a great sacrifice, and had hundreds of animals ready for it. "I let them loose and set them free," he says, "let them enjoy green grass, let them drink cool water, let the cool wind fan them."

The expressions which we here find need no commentary to clearly elicit from them the attitude of the Buddhists towards the ancient cult. We do not hear how the Brahmans on their part fortified their position, what procedure they adopted against the new faith; but, if we possessed Brahmanical sketches of Buddha's appearance, our conviction would hardly be thereby destroyed, that from the very beginning the intrinsic superiority as well as the external advances in this struggle was on the side of Buddha's disciples.

Buddha found in the rival ascetic leaders and their monastic orders more subtle and dangerous opponents than in the champions of the ancient faith. The spirit which animated many of these communities was allied to the spirit on which Buddha's own work was based. If we read the sacred books of the Jainas, it seems as if we heard Buddhist speaking.

We have no quite reliable opinion as to the terms upon which the monks of the rival communities mixed with each other. Openly expressed enmity appears to have not always prevailed it was not unusual for members to visit each other in their hermitages, to exchange civilities, to speak to each other coolly and temperately on dogmatic subjects. That there was notwithstanding an incessant play of intrigue in progress will be obvious; where the object in view was to deprive each other of the protection of influential personages no trouble was spared. King Aloka found occasion in his edicts to point out to the spiritual brotherhoods, that he is only doing an injury to his own faith who think to set it in a clear light by abusing the adherents of another faith. But whether Buddha himself and the disciples immediately round him descended from the heights of holy meekness, on which the orthodox tradition enthrones them, to this religious scramble, is a point on which we are forbidden to hazard a conjecture.

What more than anything else distinguished Buddha from the most of his rivals was his dissentient attached towards the self-mortifications, in which the path to deliverance.* Buddha, himself in the period of search through which he passed when a young man, had endured self-mortifications in their most rigorous severity, and had found out their fruitlessness in his own case. What drives earthly thoughts out of the soul is not

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* I take the following passages from one of the sacred texts of the Niggantha or Jaina-sect, founded by Buddha's contemporary Nataputta: "By day motionless as a statue, the countenance turned to the sun, peritting himself to burn on a place exposed to the sun's rays, by night cowering, unclothed . . . by this conspicuous, great, intense, prominent, precious, efficacious, rich, promising, noble, exalted, high, supreme, conspicuous, very potent exercise of penance he appeared very debilitated . . . with penance richly covered, but impoverished in flesh and book like a fire covered over with heaps of ashes, shining brilliantly through penance, through radiance, in nobleness of the radiance of penance, there he stands."

fasting and bodily agony, but self-culture, above all the struggle for knowledge, and for this struggle man derives the power only from an external life, which is far removed alike from luxury and from privation, and still more from self-inflicted pain. In the sermon at Benaras, in which tradition has undertaken to draw up something like a programme of Buddha's operations, polemic directed against those errors of gloomy ascetics is not absent; the way which leads to deliverance keeps itself as far from all self-mortification as it steers clear on the other side of earthly pleasure; the one as well as the other is there termed unworthy and vain. The true spiritual life is once compared to a lute, the strings of which must not be too loose nor stretched too tensely, if it is to give a correct sound. The balance of the faculties, the internal harmony, is that which Buddha commands his followers to aim at securing.

So far as moral living can maintain a healthy development on the ground and within the limits to which Indian monasticism is once for all by its nature confined, so far we must claim for Buddha's work the merit of such inherent soundness. He has seen through the enveloping husks which conceal the kernel of the ethical more clearly than his contemporaries, and has bequeathed to the community of has followers this knowledge of the subject, the clear rejection of everything which is foreign thereto. It may be chance that his given his doctrine the victory over the doctrines of his rival contemporaries centuries after the deaths of all; but possibly the more the darkness which covers these centuries for us is dissipated, this game of chance may the more resemble the operation of a law of necessity.

BUDDHA'S METHOD OF TEACHING

Our task is now to give some idea of the form of Buddha's teaching:—we reserve the attempt to unfold its purport for the following Part. Buddha's whole work was carried on by oral communication; written he has not. Writing itself was in all probability not unknown in his day, but certainly book-writing was unheard of. Brief written communications, brief written notifications, appear to have been common in India even at that time: books were not written, but learned by rote and taught from memory. Those extensive treatises, such as were addressed

by the apostles in the form of letters to the early Christian Churches, and which cast so rich a light on the history of those Churches and circles of thought, are wholly wanting in Buddhist literature.

Buddha spoke, not Sanskrit, but, like every one around him,* the popular idiom of eastern Hindustan. We can by inscriptions and the analogies of a closely allied, probably South Indian popular dialect, the Pali, obtain an adequate picture of this dialect: a soft and agreeably sounding language, which is distinguished from the Sanskrit by the same smoothing down of the conjoined consonants, the same tendency to vocalic terminations, which gives the Italian its character as opposed to the Latin language. People said *mutte* for *muktas* ("free"), *vijju* for *vidyut* ("the lightning"), as the Italian says *fatti* for *facti*, *ama* for *amat*. The syntax was simple and not very well suited to express fine and sharp shades of dialectic.

In the early Church, moreover, no special importance was attached to the dialect in which the doctrine of deliverance had been first preached. Buddha's words are confined to no language. "I direct, O disciples," tradition** makes him say, "that each individual learn the words of Buddha in his own tongue."

Anyone who reads the lectures which the sacred texts put in Buddha's mouth, can scarcely refrain from asking whether the form, in which he himself taught his doctrine, can possibly have resembled these self-same panoramas of abstract and often abstruse structures with their endless repetitions piled high upon each other. Should we not like to see in the picture of those early time something else beside merely a living spirit operating with the fresh vigour of youth in the circle of master and pupils,

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* The Brahmans also of this eastern land spoke undoubtedly in their daily intercourse the popular dialect; had the Sanskrit been here, as we find it later in the dramas, the language of the upper classes, some trace of this circumstance must have shown itself in the sacred Pali texts. But, as far as I know, there is no reference to be found in them (except), perhaps, at "Cullavagga," v, 33) to the Sanskrit, which to all appearances was not, setting aside the Brahman schools, known in wider circles. And this is not at all difficult to account for, as the Sanskrit belongs originally to the western parts of Hindustan; its universal employment as the language of the educated classes through all India, it has, as also the inscriptions teach us, first acquired at a much later period.

** "Cullavagga," V, 33, I.

and should we not for that reason be inclined to eliminate from this picture all that imparts to it an air of tension and fiction? And at the same time is it natural, when we endeavour to obtain a representation of Buddha's teaching and preaching, for us to resort to another source beside the tradition of the Buddhist Church, that is, when thought, consciously or unconsciously, recurs to the teaching of Jesus? Those homely sentences with their totally unstudied external setting and their deep internal wealth, seem to wear that very form from which we may infer that it, or some similar form, may have accompanied the dissemination of the Buddhist doctrine, as long as the spirit of the early ages survived.

Reflections such as these are not easy to repress, but historical treatment, before committing itself to them, will do well not to leave untested the ground and foundation on which they rest.

It cannot be forgotten that the fundamental differences of the thoughts and the dispositions with which the early Christian and early Buddhist communities dealt, were such, that these differences must also find expression in the method of religious instruction.

The Father in heaven has given His kingdom to possess, there the brief and homely language, which comes from the depth of a pure heart, may touch the proper chords more effectually than the highly organized development of a system of ideas. But the mode of thinking of the world in which Buddha lived, moves in other paths: for it all weal and woe, depend on knowledge and ignorance; ignorance is the ultimate root of all evil, and the sole power, which can strike at the root of this evil, is knowledge. Deliverance is, therefore, above all, knowledge;*

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* This mode of viewing things is not capable of a more significant and at the same time naive expression than that which it has found in the narrative of the Singhalese Church records of the first conversation of Mahinda, the converter of Ceylon, with the king Devanampiya Tissa (circ. 250 B.C.). The Thera (elder) proceeds to a formal examination of the king in logic, "to find out: does the king possess a clear understanding?" There is a mango tree near. The Thera asks: "What is this tree called, O great king?' "It is called mango, sire." "Are there, O great king, beside this mango tree yet other mango trees are there not?" "There are, sire, many other mango trees." "Are there, O great king, besides this mango tree and those mango trees still other trees?" "There are,

and the preaching of deliverance can be nothing less or more than the exposition of this knowledge, which means the unfolding of a series of abstract notions and abstract propositions.

If, therefore, we do not wish, out of deference to a universal feeling of probability, which has based its standard on a ground other than Indian, to destroy the singularity and continuity of Indian developments, we must be on our guard against making a fanciful picture of Buddha, as if he were one of those *ab original* natures living only amid the concrete and tangible, to whom the spirit is everything, the letter nothing. His thought drew its nourishment from the long course of metaphysical speculation which preceded him; he shares the delight in the metaphysical which is inherent in the Indian blood, the taste for abstraction, classification, and construction and viewing him from this aspect, we should compare him not so much to the founder of Christianity, as to its theological champions, something such as Origin was. Thus we cannot refuse credence to the tradition which, in however many forms it makes Buddha speak, yet represents the particular weight of his teaching as lying in great lectures, beside which dialogue and parable, fable and sententious sayings, appear to be something merely adventitious or marginal.

The Vedic literature gives us a picture of the forensic style of dogmatic teaching and debate, which had established itself long before Buddha's time in the Brahmanical schools and on the sacrificial ground. The word which is to convey holy things, needs a fitting garb: the setting of spiritual discourse bears a solemn, sacred character, the stateliness of which soon changes to ponderous gravity. The personal bearing of the speaker also is not a matter of indifference: a strict ceremonial regulates his appearance and his movements. Thus men were wont to think in

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sire; but they are not mango trees." "Are there beside those other mango trees and non-mango trees yet another tree?" "Yes, sire, this mango tree here." "Well done, great king, thou art clever." The Thera proceeds to apply another test which the king stands as successfully. "Beside they relatives and the non-relatives, is there any other man, O great king?" "Myself, sire." "Well done, great king, a man is neither relative nor non-relative to himself." "Thereupon the Elder said," the narrative proceeds, "that the king is clever and that he will be able to understand the doctrine, and he propounded to him the parable of the elephant's foot." *Buddhaghosa, in the Vinaya Pitaka*, vol. iii, p. 324.

Brahman circles long before Buddha's time, thus they were wont to think in the Buddhist Church at the time in which our texts were compiled. Are we to suppose that Buddha and the circles around him, standing in the middle between this epoch and that, felt differently from both? However widely form, tone, and movement in the didactic lectures, which we find in the sacred texts, may differ from what appears to us the natural and necessary manner of living, spoken language, anyone who knows how to apply different standards to things different in their conditions, will find it not impossible to believe that the solemnly earnest style of address of Buddha was much more nearly allied to the type of the addresses preserved to us by tradition, than to that which our feeling of the natural and the probable might be tempted to substitute for it.

The periods of these addresses in their motionless and rigid uniformity, on which no lights and shadows fall, are an accurate picture of the world as it presented itself to the eye of that monastic fraternity, the grim world of origination and decease, which goes on like clockwork in an ever uniform course, and behind which rests the still deep of the *Nirvana*. In the words of this ministry, there is heard no sound of working within, no voice of yearning, nothing which—passing from person to person with the power which the utterance of a superior man possesses, and with all the relentlessness which is inseparable from that power—may fasten on the hearers. No impassioned entreating of men to come to the faith, no bitterness for the unbelieving who remains afar off. In these addresses, one word, one sentence, lies beside another in stony stillness, whether it expresses the most trivial thing or the most important. As worlds of gods and worlds of men are, for the Buddhist consciousness, ruled by everlasting necessity, so also are the worlds of ideas and of verities: for these, too, there is one, and only one, necessary form of knowledge and expression, and the thinker does not make this form but he adopts what is ready to hand—as Buddha speaks, so countless Buddhas in countless ages of the world have spoken and will speak. Therefore, everything which resembles a free or arbitrary dealing of the mind with the material, must be absent from the diction of this ministration of salvation; every idea, every thought, has the same right to be heard in full and uncurtailed at the place which belongs to it,

and thus those endless repetitions accumulate which Buddha's disciples were never tired of listening to anew, and always honouring afresh as the necessary garb of holy thought, as something which should be so and not otherwise. One might often fancy that at Buddha's time the human mind had not yet discovered the magic word which joins together the lengths of disconnected co-ordinates into one compact whole, the insignificant but powerful word "and." Hear how one of the most renowned discourses expresses the thought that all man's senses and the world, which they apprehended, are attacked and wasted by the sorrow-bringing powers of the earthly and the impermanent as by a flaming fire.*

Then said the Exalted One to the disciples: "Every-thing, O disciples, is in flames. And what Everything, O disciples, is in flames? The eye, O disciples, is in flames, the visible is in flames, the knowledge of the visible is in flames, the contact with the visible is in flames, the feeling which arises from contact with the visible, be it pleasure, be it pain, be it neither pleasure nor pain, this also is in flames. By what fire is it kindled? By the fire of desire, by the fire of hate, by the fire of fascination, it is kindled; by birth, old age, death, pain, lamentation, sorrow, grief, despair, it is kindled: thus I say. The ear is in flames, the audible is in flames, the knowledge of the audible is in flames, the contact with the audible is in flames, the feeling which arises from contact with the audible, be it pleasure, be it pain, be it neither pleasure nor pain, this also is in flames. By what fire is it kindled? By the fire of desire, by the fire of hate, by the fire of fascination, it is kindled; by birth, old age, death, pain, lamentation, sorrow, grief, despair, it is kindled: thus I say. The sense of smell is in flames—and then follows for the third time the same series of propositions;—the tongue is in flames; the body is in flames; the mind is in flames;—each time the same detail follows unabridged." Then the address goes on:

> "Knowing this, O disciples, a wise noble hearer of the word becomes wearied of the eye, he becomes wearied of the visible, he becomes wearied of the knowledge of the visible, he becomes wearied of contact with the visible, he becomes

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* "Mahavagga," i, 21.

wearied of the feeling which arises from contact with the visible, be it pleasure, be it pain, be it neither pleasure nor pain. He becomes wearied of the ear,—and then follows one after the other the whole series of ideas as above." The address concludes:—

"While he becomes wearied thereof, he becomes free from desire; free from desire he becomes delivered; in the delivered arises the knowledge: I am delivered; re-birth is at an end, perfected is holiness, duty done; there is no more returning to this world; he knows this."

The address on the flames of the conflagration of the senses purports to have been delivered by Buddha to the thousand hermits of Uruvela,* when they had already confessed the faith and received initiation, when in them, as the texts are wont to express it, "the pure and moteless eye of the truth was awakened: whatever is subject to the law of origination, every such thing is also subject to the law of decease." But if the object be to bring the doctrine of suffering and of deliverance near to a novice, who is still far from the revelation of Buddha, the variations of the sacred writings assumes somewhat different form. As a specimen of their type, place may here be given to the narrative of the village-fathers of the eighty thousand villages of the Magadha kingdom, who were assembled round the king of Magadha, and at the end of their deliberations were sent by him to Buddha.†

"But when the king of Magadha, Seniya Bimbisara, had instructed the eighty thousand village elders in the laws of the visible world, he dismissed them and said: Friends, ye have now been instructed by me in the rules of the visible universe; go now and approach him, the Exalted One; he, the Exalted One, will instruct you in the things of the hereafter." Then the eighty thousand village elders went to the mountain Gijjhakuta (vulture peak). At that time the venerable Sagata was on duty with the Exalted One. The eighty thousand village elders went on to where the venerable Sagata was; when they had come up to him, they said to the venerable Sagata "Here come eighty thousand

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* *Vide* antea, p. 132.

† "Mahavagga," v, I.

village elders, sire, to see the Exalted One. Come, sire, vouchsafe to us to see the Exalted One." "Tarry here a while, my friends, that I may announce you to the Exalted One." Then vanished the venerable Sagata from the steps (at the entrance to the monastery) in the presence of the eighty thousand village elders, and before their eyes rose up in the presence of the Exalted One and spoke to the Exalted One:

"The eighty thousand village elders are come hither, sire, to see the Exalted One. Sire, let the Exalted One be pleased to do what he now thinks right for the occasion." "Then place a seat for me, Sagata, in the shadow of the monastery." "Yes, sire," replied the venerable Sagata to the Exalted One, took a stool, vanished before the face of the Exalted One, camp up again before the face of the eighty thousand village elders and before their eyes on the steps, and prepared a seat in the shadow of the monastery. Then the Exalted One went out of the monastery and took a seat on the stool which had been set for him in the shadow of the monastery. Then the eighty thousand village elders approached to where the Exalted One was; when they had come up to him they bowed themselves before the Exalted One and sat down near him. But the eighty thousand village elders directed their thoughts to the venerable Sagata alone, and therefore not to the Exalted One. Then the Exalted One knew in his mind the thoughts of the eighty thousand village elders, and said to the venerable Sagata: "Come, Sagata, show yet greater marvels of superhuman ability." "Yes, sire," the venerable Sagata answered the Exalted One, rose up into the air, and walked on high in the atmosphere, stood, descended, sat down, emitted smoke and flames, and vanished. When the venerable Sagata had exhibited in various ways, on high in the atmosphere, such marvels of superhuman power, he bowed his head at the feet of the Exalted One, and said to the Exalted One: "My master, sire, is the Exalted One: I am his disciple." Thereupon thought the eighty thousand village elders: "truly this is glorious, truly it is wonderful: if the disciple is so exceedingly mighty and exceedingly powerful, what will the Master be!" and they directed their thoughts to the

Exalted One alone and not to the venerable Sagata. Then the Exalted One knew in his mind the thoughts of the eighty thousand village elders, and preached to them the word according to the law, as it is: the discourse on giving, the discourse on uprightness, the discourse on the heavens, the corruption, vanity, impurity of desires, the glory of being free from desire. When now the Exalted One perceived that their thoughts were prepared, susceptible, free from obstructions, elevated, and directed towards him, he preached to them what is pre-eminently the teaching of the Buddhas, suffering, the origin of suffering, the removal of suffering, the way to the removal of suffering. As a clean garment, from which all impurity is removed, wholly absorbs within itself the dye, so opened in these eighty thousand village elders, as they sat there, the pure moteless eye of the truth: whatever is subject to the law of origination, all such is subject to the law of decease. And discerning the doctrine, having pierced through to the doctrine, knowing the doctrine, sinking themselves in the doctrine, overcoming doubt, free from vacillation, having penetrated to knowledge, needing nothing else in their faith in the Master's doctrine, they spoke to the Exalted One thus: "Excellent, sire, excellent, sire; as a man, O sire, straightens that which is bowed down, or uncovers the hidden, or shows the way to one who has gone astray, or shows a light in the darkness, so that he who has eyes may be able to see the forms of things, even so has the Exalted One proclaimed the doctrine in manifold discourses. We, O sire, take our refuge with the Exalted One, and with the Doctrine and with the Order of his disciples: may the Exalted One receive us as his lay disciples, for from this day henceforth we have taken our refuge with him as long as our life endures."

This narrative of the visit of the elders to Buddha may be taken as a typical one, the features of which reappear in the sacred texts on all similar occasions. Buddha does not speak at starting of the things which constitute the scope and kernel of his teaching, but the begins by admonishing to the practice of virtues in worldly vocations, to generosity, to rectitude in every earthly occupation: he speaks of the heavens with their rewards

which await him who has led a life of earnest purpose here below. And as soon as he knows that his hearers are fitted to receive something deeper, he proceeds to speak to them of that which, as the texts say, "is pre-eminently the revelation of the Buddhas," the doctrines of suffering and deliverance. These are always the same subjects of Buddha's preaching, and we over and over again meet the same expression of joy and gratitude on the part of the converted, then finally the formula with which they take their refuge as lay brothers or lay sisters in the ancient trinity of the Buddhist Church, the Buddha, the Doctrine, and the Order. Here and there there is inserted a story of some wonder which rises in no way above the level of quaint and tedious miracle. All these narratives are absolutely wanting in individuality; we seek in vain together something therefrom as to how Buddha penetrated and operated on the private, personal life of the individual among his disciples. Whenever we open our gospels, we find portrayed the most delicate and deepest traces of the work of Jesus, which, providing, consoling, healing, and building up, passes from man to man: very different from the picture which the Buddhist Church has preserved to us of its master's work; the living human, the personal hides itself behind the system, the formula; no one to seek out and to console the suffering and the sorrowing; it is only the sorrow of the whole universe of which we again and again hear.

Here and there the outward garb of such narratives is somewhat altered; instead of a sermon we find a dialogue; Buddha questions or is questioned. In the task of producing a life-like picture of such conversations as took place in Buddha's time, or in their own circles, the compilers of our sacred texts, who had not many things to go upon, but had nothing less than a dramatic vein, have certainly, in their mode of treatment failed most signally. Those who converse with Buddha are good for nothing else but simply to say "yes," and to be eventually converted, if they have not yet been converted.* But any one

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* An amusing illustration of the manner in which the sacred texts deal with the claims of character of the speakers and the other requirements of description by dramatic dialogue, is to be found in the history of Buddha's conversation with Anathapindika's daughter-in-law (in the "Anguttara-Nikaya," Sattakanipata). Buddha comes in his begging excursion to the house of his wealthiest and most liberal admirer, the great wholesale merchant Anathapindika. He

who does not suffer himself to be deterred by this want of living concrete reality from following up the logical train of these conversations, will here find more than one trace, though dim and unskilful, of the same maieutic method of dialectic, which history has properly denominated Socratic, after the name of the man who has practised it incomparably more perfectly, among a more brilliantly-gifted people—the same sifting of spiritual truths by argument from analogies which daily life supplies, the same rudiments, of the inductive method.

Thus is related to us the conversation of Buddha with Sona,* a young man, who had imposed on himself an excess of ascetic observances, and now, when he becomes aware of the fruitlessness of his practice, is on the point of turning to the opposite extreme, and reverting to a life of enjoyment. Buddha says to this disciple: "How is it, Sona, were you able to play the lute before you left home?"— "Yes, sire."—"What do you think then, Sona, if the strings of your lute are too tightly strung, will the lute give out the proper tone and be fit to play?"— "It will not, sire."—"And what do you think, Sona, if the strings of your

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hears loud conversation and wrangling, and asks: "Why are the people screaming and crying in thy house? One would think fishermen had been robbed of their fish." And Anathapindika pours out his grief to Buddha: a daughter-in-law of a rich family has come into his house, who will not listen to her husband and her parents-in-law, and declines to show due reverence to Buddha. Buddha says to her: "Come, Sujata." She answers: "yes, sire," and comes to Buddha. He says to her: "There are seven kinds of wives which a man may have Sujata. What seven are they? One resembles a murderess, another a robber, another a mistress, another a mher, another a sister, another a friend, anothers a servant. These Sujata, are the seven kinds of wives which a man may have. Which kind art thou?" And Sujata has forgotten all obstinacy and pride, and says deferentially: "Sire, I d not understand the full meaning of that which the Exalted One has stated in brief; therefore, sire, may the Exalted One so expound to me his doctrine, that I may be able to understand the full meaning of that which the Exalted One has stated briefly." Hearken, then, Sujaja, and take it well to heart: I shall state it to thee."— "Yes, sire," said Sujata. And Buddha describes to her then the seven kinds of women, from the worst who goes after other men, despises her husband, and tries to take his life up to the best who, like a servant, is always submissive to her husband's will, and bears without a murmur all he says and does. "These, Sujata, are the seven kinds of wives which a man may have What kind among these art thou?"—"From this day forward, sire, may the Exalted One esteem me one who is to her husband a wife who resembles a servant."

"Mahavagga," v, 1-15, *seq.*

lute be strung too slack; will the lute then give out the proper tone and be fit to play?" "It will not, sire."— "But how, Sona, if the strings of your lute be not strung too tight or too slack, if they have the proper degree of tension, will the lute then give out the proper sound and be fit to play?"—"Yes, sire."— "In the same way, Sona, energy too much strained tends to excessive zeal, and energy too much relaxed tends to apathy. Therefore, Sona, cultivate in yourself the mean of energy, and press on to the mean in your mental powers, and place this before you as your aim."

Another conversation,* carried on between Buddha and a Brahman, deals with the relation between the four castes and the claim to service and obedience which the Brahmans advance against all other castes, and each higher among other castes advances against the lower castes. Buddha couches his criticism in the form of a dialogue, with question and answer. "if anyone were to ask a Kshatriya (noble) as follows: 'to whom wouldst thou render service: to him with whom, if thou doest him service, thou wilt fare worse for thy service, not better; or to him with whom, if thou doest him service, thou wilt fare better for thy service, not worse?' The Kshatriya would, if he answers properly, answer thus: 'Him with whom, if I did him service, I should fare worse for my service, not better, him would I not serve; but him with whom, if I did him service, I should fare better for my service, not worse, to him would I render service."' And then the induction goes on in its stiff consecutive course: "If anyone were to ask a Brahman as follows—if anyone were to ask a Vaishya as follows—if anyone were to ask a Shudra as follows." The answer is naturally every time the same, and the exposition eventually yields this result: "Where by the service which anyone renders to another, his faith increases, his virtue increases, his understanding increases, his knowledge increases, there, I say, it is that he should render him service."

Here and there, as in our gospels, parables alternate with doctrine and admonition: "I shall show you a parable," Buddha says, "by a parable many a wise man perceives the meaning of what is being said." The operations of man as well as the life of nature are the fields of observation, with which these similes for

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* Phasukari Suttanta (Majjhima Nikaya).

spiritual life and effort, for deliverance, and the company of the delivered, deal. Buddha's preaching of deliverance is compared to the work of the physician, who draws the poisoned arrow from a wound, and overcomes the power of the poison with remedial herbs. The company of disciples, the gathering of noble spirits, in whom all worldly differences of high and low cease, resembles the sea with its wonders, in the depths of which lie pearls and crystals, in which gigantic creatures have free play, into which the rivers flow, and lose their names, and make up the ocean, so many of them there are. As the lotus flower raises its head out of the water, unaffected by the water, so the Buddhas born in the world, rise above the world, unaffected by the impurity of the world. As the peasant ploughs his fields and sows the seed and irrigates but has not the power to say: the grain shall swell today, tomorrow it shall germinate, next day it shall ripen, but must wait till the proper time comes and brings growth and ripeness of his corn, so also it is with the disciple who seeks deliverance: he must regulate his course according to strict discipline, practice religious meditation, study diligently the doctrine of salvation, but he has not the power to say: to-day or to-morrow shall my spirit be delivered from every impure habit, but he must wait until his time comes for deliverance to be vouchsafed to him. For the tempter who tries to shut up against man the path of salvation and to lure him to false paths, and the deliverer, who leads him back to the right path, this simile is employed:* "As when, O disciples, in the forest, on a mountain slope, there lies a great tract of low land and water, where a great herd of deer lives, and there comes a man, who devises hurt, distress and danger for the deer; who covers over and shut up the path which is safe, good, and pleasant to take, and opens up a false path, a swampy path, a marshy track. Thenceforward, O disciples, the great herd of deer incurs hurt and danger and diminishes. But now, O disciples, if a man comes, who devises prosperity, welfare, and safety for this great herd of deer: who clears and opens up the path which is safe, good and pleasant to take, and does away with the false path, and abolishes the swampy path, the marshy track. Thenceforth, O disciples, will the great herd of deer thrive, grow, and increase. I have spoken

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* Dvedhavitakka Sutta (Majjh. N.).

to you, O disciples, in a parable, to make known my meaning. But the meaning is this. The great lowland and the water, O disciples, are pleasures. The great herds of deer, O disciples, are living men. The man, O disciples, who devises hurt, distress, and ruin, is Mara, the Evil One. The false path, O disciples is the eight-fold false path, to wit: false faith, false resolve, false speech, false action, false living, false effort, false thought, false self-concentration. The swampy way, O disciples, is pleasure and desire. The swampy track is ignorance. The man, O disciples, who devises prosperity, welfare, salvation, is the Perfect One, the holy, supreme Buddha. The safe, good way, O disciples, in which it is well to walk, is the holy eight-fold path, to wit: right faith, right resolve, right speech, right action, right living, right effort, right thought, right self-concentration. Thus, O disciples, has the safe, good path, in which it is well to walk, been opened up by me; the false path has been done away, the swampy path, the swampy track has been done away, the swampy path, the swampy track has been abolished. Everything, O disciples, that a master, who seeks the salvation of his disciples, who pities them, must do out of pity for them, that have I done for you."

Such similes run through the discourse on sorrow and deliverance. Through the measured formality of the monastic church-diction, we constantly feel the breath of intelligent sympathy with life and nature, that genuine human desire to observe this motley world, and see whether it cannot by its figurative language throw some light on the spirit world and its secrets.

From similes to fable and romance is not a long way; the Buddhist mendicant monks were sufficiently Indian to have an abundant share of the old Indian delight in romance. Sometimes the sacred writings make Buddha tell his disciples a fable of animals, sometimes a history of strange occurrences, and all kinds of human actions, thoughtful or amusing: "There were once two wise brothers," or "there was once at Benaras a king, called Brahmadatta," the history of the banished king Long-grief, and his sagacious son Long-life, or the fable, how the partridge, the ape, and the elephant have learned to live together in virtue and harmony; at the end of every history came, as is fitting,

a moral.*

But the most beautiful embellishments of Buddha's preaching are those poetical sentences in which all the most delicate powers of light and warmth, which dwell within the Buddhist mind, are concentrated as it were in a focus. Here we need not by any means see merely a poetic embellishment which the Church has attributed to its master's teaching; sentences of this kind, short improvisations, to which the pliant nature of the Clokametre readily adapted itself, may very well have been actually a feature of Buddha's mode of speech, and of that specially-gifted among his disciples.** These apothegms are so unlike the dry numbness of the prose lectures, that we may be tempted to ask whether they were really the same spirits which have composed the one and the other. We feel how that prose confined and bound up those who spoke in it; but when the domain of prose ceases, where men are expressing not dry, subtle systems of ideas, but the simple emotions, the sorrows and hopes of their own hearts, life is roused and the blood of life, poetry. Thoughtful feeling, clad in the grand and rich attire of Indian metaphor, looks out upon us, and the slokas with their gently measured rhythms, so peculiarly combining uniformity and diversity, flow up and down like the surging billows of the sea, on which the clear sky is reflected amid variegated, fragrant lotus flowers. The soul of this poesy, too, is nothing else but what the soul of the Buddhist faith itself is, the one thought,

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* Some of these stories—hardly all—are so applied that their leading hero is identified with Buddha in one of his previous existences, and the other personages who appear with persons in Buddha's society or in the circles of his opponents. Later on new stories, but always with the same points, were invented by the hundred, or even old legendary matter has been wrought up *in majorem Buddha gloriam;* these make up a particular book of the sacred writings, the collection of the Jataka (stories of earlier births), cf., however, also my note to Suttavibhanga, Pacittiya, 2, 1.

** Tradition allots specially the task of improvisation (patibhana) among Buddha's disciples of Vangisa ("Dip.," iv, 4), who is the hero of one particular section in the holy texts, the Vangisathera-Samyutta. There it is often said: this and that thought "dawned on Vangisa" (patibhati), and then he utters a verse in which he gives expression to the collateral circumstances, praises Buddha, and so on. He then says of these verses, they are not prepared beforehand (pubbe parivitakkita) but "they suddenly dawned on me" (thanaso mam patibhanti)

which rings out in sublime monotony from all these apothegms: Unhappy, impermanence, happy he who has the eternal. From this thought there pervades the proverbial wisdom of the Buddhist, that tone of deep, happy repose, of which that proud sentence says that the gods themselves envy it, that repose which looks down upon the struggling world, stoops to the most distressed and quietly extends to him the picture of absolute peace. For the elucidation of Buddhism nothing better could happen than that, at the very outset of Buddhist studies, there should be presented to the student by an auspicious hand the Dhammapada,* that most beautiful and richest of collections of proverbs, to which anyone who is determined to come to know Buddhism must over and over again return, and to which we shall often have to allude in our sketch of the Buddhist teaching.

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* Here a few sayings of the Dhammapada (60, 153 *seq.* 383, 82 may find a fitting place; I have avoided attempting to reproduce the material form:
"Long is the night to him who keeps watch, long is the road to the weary, long is the wandering path of re-births for the foolish, who know not the word of truth."
"A path of many re-births have I vainly traversed, seeking the builder of the house (of corporeity); full of suffering is birth (recurring) over and over again. Now have I seen thee, O builder of the house; thou shalt not again build the house. Thy rafters are broken, the battlements of the house are demolished. The soul, having escaped changeability, has attained the end of desire."
"Stem the current with might, banish from thee all desire, O Brahman; if thou hast sighted the end of the changeable, thou art a knower of the uncreated, O Brahman."
"A rest like that of the deep sea, calm and clear, the wise find, who hear the truth."

6

Jainism

I

The Jainas claim high antiquity for their religion and enumerate twenty-four Jinas (a term from which the word Jaina has been derived) or Tirthankaras,[1] *i.e.*, the expounders of *dharma*. Rishabha is the first and Vardhamana is the last of these Tirthankaras. Though nothing can be said definitely about the historicity of the early Tirthankaras (as the age and statute assigned of them seem to be unbelievable), yet there can hardly be any doubt that Vardhamana Mahavira's two immediate predecessors (Arishtanemi and Parsvanatha) were historical persons. Vardhamana was, in fact, a reformer and not the founder of the Jaina religion as some scholars think him to be.

Regarding Arishtanemi, we know from Jaina literary tradition that he was born in the Yadava clan of Dvaraka and was a cousin of Krishna Vasudeva and Baladeva (who were leaders of another group of philosophies or religious sects such as the Vaishnavas). His father, Samudra Vijaya, was king of Dvaraka or Sauripura and his mother was Sivadevi. The race to which he belonged was called Harivamsa. His (*i.e.* Arishtanemis) parentage and family have thus a well-known historical background.[2]

Parsvanatha is one of the most important Jaina Tirthankaras. Some regard him as the true founder of the Jaina faith.[3] His father was Asvasena, king of Benaras, and his mother queen

Vamadevi. He was probably born in about 817 B.C. and died about 717 B.C. He took to the life of an ascetic at the age of thirty. He obtained enlightenment at the foot of an Asoka tree and preached for seventy years the doctrines of love and fraternity.[4] According to the *Uttaradhyayanasutra*,[5] he enjoined upon his followers four vows: (i) not to injure life; (ii) to speak the truth; (iii) not to steal, and (iv) not to own property, while Mahavira added one more, namely, the vow of chastity. Parsva allowed his disciples to wear a garment but Mahavira advocated complete nudity.[6] Thus, Parsva was a historical person and, as is known, his organization was led by Kesi in the days of Mahavira. That Jainism as a religious movement flourished before Mahavira's time is proved by a few more facts. "Nirgrantha" or Nigantha was the name by which the Jainas were originally known, though it was later on applied to denote Mahavira's followers particularly. It may be noted here that the *Pitakas* mention very often the Nirgranthas as opponents or converts of Buddha and his disciples. As it is nowhere stated or implied that they were a newly founded sect we may hold that they existed a considerable time before the advent of Buddha and also of Mahavira.[7] As Buddhaghosha informs us, Makkhali Gosala, the founder of the Ajivika sect, divided the contemporary population into six clans of which the Nirgranthas were one.[8] All this would tend to show the great antiquity of this sect[9] before Vardhamana Mahavira, the twenty-fourth Tirthankara. Vardhamana was a great preacher and he showed extraordinary genius in organizing the Jaina Sangha. He was born in Vaishali (modern Basarh) in the district of Muzaffarpur, Bihar. His father, Siddhartha, was the head of the Kshatriya clan, the Natas or Nayas of Kollaga,[10] the suburb of Vaishali. Hence Mahavira was known also as Vesaliya, *i.e.* of Vaishali. His mother's name was Trisala, a daughter of Chetaka, who was then the governing "Rajan" of the Republic of Vaishali. Mahavira who was born about 599 B.C. was therefore a highly connected personage.[11] His parents died when he was thirty and he became a monk and took to a life of mortification lasting for twelve years, when he reached the state of ominiscience. He died at Pava (Patna District) at the age of 72 in 527 B.C.

In Kollaga there was religious establishment called the Duipalasa Chaitya for the accommodation of the monks of the

order of Parsvanatha to whom the Naya clan (to which Vardhmana belonged) professed allegiance.[12] Mahavira, on adopting the monk's vocation joined the order of Parsvanatha. But the observances of that order do not seem to have satisfied his notions of stringency, including nudity.[13] So after one year he separated[14] and, discarding his clothes, wandered about the country of north and south Bihar.

The last 30 years of his life Mahavira passed in preaching his religious system and organizing his order of ascetics. His order was patronised chiefly by those princes with whom he was connected through his mother, the royal families of Videha, Magadha and Anga. He spent the major part of his life in the towns and villages of these regions[15] though he perhaps extended his travels up to Sravasti in the north and Kalinga in the south-east. He won for himself numerous followers among the clergy and the lay clergy.[16] After his death the Jaina order continued to flourish under the rule of the great ascetic's disciple Sudharma and his successors, as we learn from the study of the Jaina legends.

Mahavira and Gautama Buddha, because of their aristocratic descent, had easy access to the royal courts and made many converts from among the members of the royal houses. Mahavira met Bimbsara and his son Ajatasatru of Kunika and was treated by them as well as by others of the royal family with the utmost courtesy and respect. After Mahavira's death, Jainism also continued to receive royal patronage as was the case with Buddhism after the death of Gautama Buddha. In fact, the success of both Jainism and Buddhism was largely due to royal support. According to Jain literary traditions, Ajatasatru's son and successor, Udayai, was a great patron and follower of the Jaina faith. The *Avasyakasutra*[17] and also Hemachandra's *Parisishta-Parva*[18] inform us that Udayai caused to be built a splendid Jaina temple in the centre of his new capital, Patali-putra. That the Jainas had free access into his court is evident from the fact that he was murdered by one (whose father was dethroned by him) in the guise of a Jaina monk.

Jainism seems to have had abundant influence with the rulers of the Nanda dynasty. The Hathigumpha inscription tells us that the image of a Jina was taken away as a trophy to Magadha by a Nanda who was a Jaina and Jainism came to

Kalinga at a very early date.[19] This has also the support of the literary tradition that the Nanda dynasty has a line of Jaina ministers beginning with Kalpaka.[20]

The Mauryas succeeded the Nandas on the Magadhan throne. According to the Jaina tradition, a great famine visited Magadha lasting twelve years, during the reign of Chandragupta Maurya. Bhadrabahu, the leader of the Jain church, left Magadha with a number of his followers and settled in the Carnatic country. The Jains say that Chandragupta Maurya also followed Bhadrabahu[21] and starved himself to death at Sravana Belgola following the Jaina practice.

The Asokan Edicts supply the earliest authentic information on the Jainas. Asoka not only interested himself in Buddhism which he professed in his later years but took care in a fatherly way of all other religions. In Pillar Edict VII he says:

Some [Mahamatras] were ordered by me to busy themselves also with Brahmanas [land] Ajivikas; other were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the Nirgranthas.[22]

The Nirgranthas, as already mentioned above, are the older name of the Jainas and as they are mentioned there long with the other important sects of the land we may conclude that they were of no small importance during Asoka's time. Asoka's grandson, Samprati, was a staunch follower of the Jaina religions and showed great zeal in the propagation of this faith. Hemachandra credits him with the creation of a large number of Jaina temples all over Jambudvipa and he led with great devotion religious festivals and processions in honour of the Arhats during the stay of Suhastin in Ujjayini. This devotion of Samprati was emulated not only by the chiefs subordinate to him but also by the kings of the adjacent kingdoms, with the result that the Jaina faith gained widespread popularity. Samprati's missionary efforts spread to South India as well. Hemachandra tells us that he sent Jaina monks to preach in countries like those of the Andhras and Darmillas[23] (Dravidian countries).

Of the archaeological remains of Jainism pertaining to the Maurya period, mention may be made of a nude torso of polished Chunar stone, which may be described as a Tirthankara figure in Kayotsarga posture. Another torso of the same type, but belonging probably to the Sunga period, shows the continuance of Tirthankara worship in Magadha. Both these

torsos, found in Lohanipur near Patna town, are preserved in the Patna Museum, Patna. Some Jaina bronzes from Chausa in the Shababad district and those from Machuatand Aluara in Manbhum district seem to show the popularity of Jainism in Bihar during the late Sunga and Kushana period.

During the Sunga period, Jainism found strong support among the people of Kalinga. At Buddhism became the paramount religion of the Magadhan empire during the reign of Asoka, so was Jainism in Kalinga during the reign of Kharavela. The text of the Hathigumpha cave inscription (deciphered by R.D. Banerjee and K.P. Jayaswal, *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XX, pp. 72 ff) shows that Kharavela, who flourished as the overlord of Kalinga in the early part of the second century B.C.,[24] was devoted to the Jaina creed. This record, which furnishes a description of the first thirteen years of Kharvela's reign, opens with an invocation to the Arhats and the Siddhas, two of the common appellations by which a Jaina Tirthankara or a saint is described.[25] It has to be mentioned that this invocation which quite agrees with the usual Jaina formula of *Namaskara,*[26] is met with also in Jaina inscription of Mathura.[27] Hence it is natural to suppose that Kharavela, who paid obeisance to the Arhats and the Siddhas, was an adherent of the Jaina faith.

If the invocation formula of the Hathigumpha inscription be indecisive as to whether Jainism was the personal faith of Kharavela or the person by whom the epigraph was composed for him, the contents of the epigraph when studied fully will leave no doubt with regard to Kharavela's allegiance to Jainism and its wide popularity in Kalinga.

In line 12 of the Hathigumpha cave inscription we are told that Kharavela in the twelfth year of his reign attacked Magadha, made its king Bahasatimitra (whose identity is a matter of great controversy among scholars) bow at his feet and he carried to and set up in Kalinga the image of Jina of Kalinga which was earlier taken away from Kalinga by king Nanda[28] of Pataliputra (4th century B.C.).

The episode of the Jaina idol as narrated in line 12 of the Hathigumpha inscription offers same valuable information with regard to the history of Jainism. Firstly, it shows that Kharavela was an avowed champion of the Jaina faith which is supported by the other contents of the Hathigumpha inscription. Secondly,

it tell us that Jainism prevailed in Kalinga as its national faith for some centuries even before Kharavela's time. Thirdly, it leads us to believe that the Nanda invader who carried away the Jina image was interested in the Jaina faith.

The antiquity and popularity of Jainism in Kalinga before Kharavela's time has the support of literary tradition. The Jaina *Harivamsa Purana* states that Mahavira Vardhamana preached his religion in Kalinga.[29] Another Jain work, *Avasyakasutra*, says that Mahavira visited Kalinga, as the king of that country was a friend of his father.[30] In view of this, there is nothing surprising about the fact that Kalinga had a Jina idol in the days of the Nandas (two centuries after Mahavira's *nirvana*). Since its introduction in Kalinga, Jainism seems to have enjoined an uninterrupted popularity there. It may be pointed out that the Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills in Orissa are honeycombed with caves and cells which were in use by the Buddhist and Jaina monks from an early time. Though most of the caves were excavated during the second-first centuries B.C.[31] there is no doubt that some of them are much older than Kharavela's time. In this connection Ganguly observes:

> We think we shall not be far from the truth in dating some of the caves even in the 4th or 5th century B.C.—that is, before the period of the Hathigumbha inscription, for the locality where the caves were excavated must have had some sort of previous sanctity preserved in the eyes of the coreligionists.[32]

Further, it is stated in the *District Gazetteer*, Puri, that there settled in that district a large number of Jainas during the rule of Asoka. Some of the sandstone hills of Udayagiri and Khandagiri contain their hermitage caves with traces of inscriptions in Maurya Brahmi characters.[33] They all seem to have been excavated for the religious use of the Jaina monks and have been used by them for many a century. Again, the site of the Hathigumpha cave itself seems to bear evidence to the antiquity of Jainism in Kalinga. A royal edict, so that it may serve its purpose, is engraved at a place which is prominent in the eye of the people for some reason or other. The caves in ancient India were holy resorts of the monks and saints. So it may be supposed that Kharavela, who was a Jaina, chose to incise his

record there on the obvious ground of the religious sanctity attached to it, for the situation of the Hathigumpha cave cannot be attributed importance of any other kind, *viz.* commercial or strategic. We have epigraphic evidence to show that the spot was visited by pilgrims as late as eleventh century A.D.[34]

It has already been pointed out that Mahavira preached his religion in Kalinga. Jayaswal and R.D. Banerji think that the Kumari hill may be the site where he preached, as they are inclined to believe that the expression *Supavata-vijaya-chaka kumaripavate* (on the Kumari hill where the wheel of law had been well revolved, *i.e.*, the religion of Jina had been preached) contains an allusion to that effect.[35] If Jayaswal and Banerji's reading and translation are regarded as authentic, there is no difficulty in accepting the literary tradition of the Jainas regarding Mahavira's visits to and preaching in Kalinga. Further, the Hathigumpha Cave inscription shows that there were on the Udayagiri hills Kaya Nishidis (the relic memorials) as Jaina institutions, in existence from before Kharavela's time.[36] Line 14 of the Hathigumpha inscription refers to the Yapa professors who were at Kaya Nishidi (relic memorial) on the Udayagiri hill. The word Nishidi occurs in Pillar Edict VII of Asoka and the Nagarjuni Hill cave inscription of his grandson Dasaratha as Nimsidhiya and Nishidiya respectively, the Jainas employ this word in the sense of resting places. The Jainas employ the word in a technical sense, *i.e.* in the sense of a memorial tomb erected over the remains of a Jaina ascetic. That the Nishidis on the Kumari hill were not merely ornamental tombs is evident from the qualifying word Kaya. This shows that the enshrinement of the corporeal relics of the saints was a practice prevalent among the Jainas from an early time as it was the case with the Buddhists. This seems to be also corroborated by the Jaina stupas discovered at Mathura. All this tends to prove the settlement of the Jainas in Kalinga before Kharavela's time.

Kharavela took a deep interest in Jaina religious doctrines. Line 14 of the Hathigumpha inscription says that in the thirteenth year of his reign he respectfully offered royal maintenance, China clothes (silk) and white clothes to the members of the Yapaniya Samgha (Yapa-navakehi) who have extinguished the rounds of their lives" by means of austerities at the relic memorial (Kaya-Nashidi) on the Kumari Hill.[37] The Yapana

Samgha flourished in the south. They are mentioned often in Jaina literature and medieval inscriptions of South India.[38] On the authority of the *Bhadrabahucharta,* Jayaswal says that the Yapana Samgha were among the numerous disciples of Bhadrabahu who worshipped his bones, and then finally decided to remain without clothes.[39]

Kharavela's interest in the Jaina faith is indicated also by a few more facts. From the closing portion of line 14 of the Hathigumpha cave inscription as interpreted by Banerji and Jayaswal, we learn that Kharavela as layman was devoted to worship and that he realized the nature of *Jiva* and *Deha*.[40] *Jiva,* according to the Jainas, is the first category of the fundamental truth of their philosophy. They say that experience shows that all things may be divided into the living (*Jiva*) and non-living (*Ajiva*), the principle of life is entirely distinct from the body and it is most erroneous to think that life is either the product or the property of the body. It is on account of this life principle that the body appears to be living. This principle is the soul.[41]

The highest goal of a Jaina is *Nirvana*. But only an ascetic who has renounced the world and has faithfully performed the duties and vows prescribed for him can attain it. Though a layman cannot attain *Nirvana,* he can undertake duties and share the principles of the Jaina religion which enables him to treat the way which leads to it. From the Hathigumpha inscription it appears that Kharavela was a devoted lay worshipper and that he was able to realize the higher ideals of the Jaina philosophy.

Line 15 of the Hathigumpha inscription states that Kharavela convened a council of the wise ascetics and sages from all directions near the relic depository of the Arhats. The object of this assembly is referred to in line 16 which, according to Jayaswal, states that Kharavela caused to be compiled expeditiously the text of the seven-fold Angas of the sixty-four letters.[42]

According to the Jaina tradition the Jaina canon seems to have fallen into oblivion during the time of the famine which occurred in Magadha when Bhadrabahu, a contemporary of Chandragupta Maurya (fourth century B.C.) was the leader of the Jaina community. After the famine was over a council met at Pataliputra to collect the canonical scriptures under the leadership of Sthulabhadra. The council collected the eleven Angas but the 12th was missing. "This twelfth Anga contained

fourteen purvas which Sthulabhadra was able to supply." During the famine period, Bhadrabahu, as is well known, migrated to the South with a number of his disciples, leaving the leadership of the Jaina church in the hands of Sthulabhadra. His party, which came back after the famine was over, refused, however, to accept the text of the Pataliputra council and declared the Angas and purvas as lost.

From the above it appears that the Jaina canon established at Pataliputra was not an agreed religious cannon of the Jainas consisting of two main groups—one represented by Sthulabhadra and the other by Bhadrabahu. That Kharavela undertook the compilation of the Jaina canon which is described by Fleet as being lost or scattered since the time of the Mauryas, indicates perhaps that according to the reading of Jayaswal and R.D. Banerji, the works "Angasatikam turiyam" of Amgassti-katuriyam are qualified by the adjective "Choyathi" meaning thereby "the seven-fold Angas or Angas in collection of 7 and 4 consisting of letters."[43] The term Choyathi has been given a mysterious interpretation by the Jainas who hold that their sacred literature is made up by 64 letters. J.L. Jaina in his introduction to the *Jiva-Khanda* of the *Gonunata Sara*[44] observes:

> The knowledge of *Sruti, Sruta Jnana* may be of things which are contained in the Angas (limbs of sacred books of the Jainas) or of things outside the Angas. There are 64 simple letters of the alphabet: of these 33 are consonants, 27 vowels and 4 auxiliary (which help in formation of compound letters).

The above discussion shows that Kharavela was highly interested in his faith and displayed a good deal of enthusiasm to restore the Jaina scriptures.

Though Kharavela was a patron and follower of the Jaina faith, in his training and policy he did not differ much from other Indian princes. His coronation took place according to Brahmanical *rites*.[43] He undertook military expeditions and guided himself by the ideals of Brahmanical sovereignty. The principles and methods which he followed in governing his kingdom were quite in accordance with those laid down in Brahmanical treatises on Hindu policy. He bestowed gifts on

members of other sects as he did on the Jainas. The observance of some of the Brahmanical ideals by Kharavela who was a Jaina, rather puzzled Dr Barua who wrote that so far as this world was concerned Kharavela was a Hindu, and that so far as the other world was concerned, he was a pious Jaina.[48]

In this connection it may be suggested that the general tendency in India is to maintain the ancient *rites* and traditions. The ancient Vedic ceremonies should not be identified with one set of practices meant for a particular sect. The term Vedic has a wide significance and does not exclusively connote the Brahmanic, though the Brahmanical religion has retained more of the Vedic character than any other religion. The Vedic ceremonies are a mass of social traditions. The kings and princes, to whatever faith they might have belonged, tried to keep up the ancient practices which were embedded in the general structure of Indian culture. Further, it may be stated that the Buddhists and Jainas discarded the ancient or Vedic practices to the extent that they militated against the accepted philosophies. The social practices were left alone. In fact Buddhism and Jainism were more philosophies than religions until very late. Thus it is not necessary to consider Kharavela's coronation ceremony or his gifts to the Brahmanas as being inconsistent with his religious outlook even from the strict Jaina standpoint.

Jainism seems to have been the religious faith also of other members of Kharavela's family, including his chief queen and his successors. The Svargupura Cave[47] inscription records that the cave was dedicated to the Kalinga recluses of the Jaina faith by his chief queen who is described as the daughter of the high-souled king Lalarka Hasti Saha or Hastisimha.[48] We have a number of Udayagiri Hill inscriptions of Kharavela's successors recording their dedication of caves to the monks. The inscription which belong to 200 B.C. 100 A.D. do not specify as to which particular religious sects the monks receiving gifts belonged. But in view of the preponderance of the Jaina faith in Kharavela's time it is quite natural to suppose that the recipients of gifts mentioned in these inscriptions were mostly of the Jaina faith.

JAINISM IN WESTERN AND SOUTHERN INDIA

Western India is one of the early stronghold of the Jainas.

Dvaraka is the birthplace as well as the main centre of the missionary activities of Arishtanemi, the twenty-second Jaina Tirthankara. Samprati a grandson of Asoka, whose dominion included the Avanti region, was a devout follower and patron of the Jaina religion as noticed before. As the *Kalakacharya-kathanaka* and the Jaina recension of the *Vikramacharita* show, Jainism continued to flourish here during the post-Mauryan period too. According to the *Kalakacharyakathanaka* the Jaina saint Kalaka came to Ujjayini with his followers to preach his doctrines. It so happened that Kalaka's sister. Saraswati, also reached there after some days with a party of nuns. Gardabhilla, the king of Ujjayini, as the story tells us, was so infatuated with the beautiful Sarasavati that he carried her off. When Kalaka failed to rescue his sister, he went to the land of the Sakas (where the princes are called Shahis and their overlord Shanano Shahi)[50] and persuaded 96 Saka princes to invade Ujjayini. Gardabhilla was defeated in the encounter and Kalaka placed one of the Saka princes on the throne. After a time, as we are told in the story, there arose a king of Malava named Vikramaditya who overthrew the Sakas, ruled gloriously and established an era of his own. Subsequently, another Saka king arose and overthrew the dynasty of Vikramaditya. When a hundred and thirty-five years of the Vikrama era had elapsed, this Saka king started an era of his own.

According to certain eminent historians, Gardabhilla and Vikramaditya (who is in their opinion perhaps the founder of the Vikrama era of 57 B.C.) were actual historical persons reigning in the first century B.C. and the Kalaka story reflects the history of this period.[51] If this is conceded, we can hold that there was a good deal of Jaina influence in western India in Gardabhilla's time[52] (*i.e.* early part of the first century B.C.). It may be noted that there were three saints of the name of Kalakacharya, and one was separated from another by an appreciable period of time. As is generally held, it was Kalaka II who was the uprooter of Gardhabhilla. The year of Kalaka II is by all authorities said to be 453 B.C. of the Vira era in which years it is stated in a stanza appended to several manuscripts of Dharmaprabhasuri's version that he took (*gahiya*) Saraswati.

Coming to Vikramaditya, the successor of Gardabhilla, we find that the Jainas claim him as one of the patrons and followers

of their religion. The Jainistic recension of the *Vikramacharita* represents Vikrama as listening to the instruction of the Jaina saint Siddhasena Divakara, with great interest.[53] The *Jainapattavalis* tell us that Siddhasena Divakara converted Vikrama to his faith in 470 Vira era (*i.e.* 57 B.C.).[54] As to the archaeological evidence of Jainism in this period, though not necessarily of western India, mention may be made of an interesting bronze image of Parsvanatha standing in the Kayotsarga posture. There are snake hoods over his head. The image is preserved in the rrince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay. Though its findspot is not known, on a stylistic basis it can be attributed to the first century B.C.

According to Jaina Pattavalis, there flourished in western India in the first century B.C. several Jaina saints besides Siddhasena Divakara, who were noted for their learning and missionary zeal. Among them mention may be made of Vriddhavadin, Vajra and Padalipta. Vriddhavadin[55] is regarded by the Jains as a saint of great repute and of Guru of Siddhasena. Vajra,[56] who belonged to the Gautama gotra, was born in 496 Vira era (31 B.C.). The name of his father was Dhanagiri and that of his mother Sunanda. He learnt the eleven *Angas* and went from Dasapura to Bhadragupta at Avanti to study the 12th, *i.e.* the *Drishtivadanga*. He was the last Jaina saint to possess knowledge of the complete *Purvas*. He spread the Jaina religion in the South. Padalipta was a contemporary of Vikrama Vriddhavadin and Siddhasena Divakara.[57] Jaina traditions associate him with the foundation of Palitana city.[58] According to Haribhadra Suri he spent most of his time in Manyakheta in the south and did away with all the bad religions there.[59]

Architectural remains would show that Jainism continued to flourish in Western India as a popular religion during the subsequent centuries. As scholars hold, some of the caves at Junagadh (Gujarat) were occupied by the Jainas during the third century A.D. This is indicated by a stone inscription in one of these caves. This inscription, which belongs to the time of the grandson of Kshatrapa Jayadaman mentions such Jaina terms as Kevali. Even if it is presumed that this inscription was brought from some other place, the Jaina association of these caves is amply testified to by the occurrence of the Jaina symbols carved on Cave No. K. These symbols include the Srivatsa, Bhadrasena,

Nandipada, Mina-Yugala and Kalasa. It is well known that such auspicious symbols occur also on the Jaina Ayagapata of Mathura.[60]

Jainism seems to have been popular in the north-western parts of undivided India during the early century of the Christian era. According to Sir John Marshall, two of the stupas at Sirkap, Taxila, were of the Jaina faith. Further, it may be mentioned here that Jaina traditions speak of a dharmachakra set up by Bahubali, son of Rishabhanatha, at Taxila.[61]

Jainism seems to have been a popular faith in the South also in our period. The *Samyaktvasaptati* states that there were many Jaina samghas in the South noted for their good qualities, during the first century B.C.. when Padalipta came to preach his doctrines in Manyakheta.[62] Some of the Sravana Belgola inscriptions contain references to the Jaina hierarchy and succession of Jaina teacher in South India.[63] The order generally followed is: Kunda Kunda (Konda-Kunda), Umasvati, Balak-paincha, Samantabhadra, Sivakoti, Devanandi and others. Of these teachers, the following, *viz.* Kunda Kunda, Umasvati, Samantabhadra and Balakapaincha, seem to have lived during the post-Mauryan period.[64]

Kunda Kunda was a great Jaina preacher and is held in high esteem even new among the Jainas as is evidenced by the fact that at all meetings of Jaina savants in India a reading opens with the verse:

Mangalam bhagavan viro mangalam Gautamo ganin
Mangalam Kundakundaryo, Jainadharmostu mangalam.

Kunda Kunda was a reputed author. He is said to have composed in Prakrit a large number of works including *Panchastikaya, Pravachana-sara, Samadhitantra, Jnana-tattva Prajnapana,* 10 *Bhatis,* and 84 *Pahudas.*[65]

There is a good deal of controversy regarding the date of Kunda Kunda. Some scholars place him in the sixth century A.D. while others take him back to as early as third century B.C.[66] The views of these scholars are based upon insufficient data and cannot be accepted as reliable. It is to be mentioned here that a line of Digambara teachers constituting the Saraswati Gachchha or Nandigana or Desigana of the original church (*mula sangha*) founded by Mahavira is constantly cited in the Mysore inscrip-

tion as the Kundakunda *anvaya*.[67] In the *Pattavalis* of the *Anvaya* Kunda Kunda[68] is mentioned as the third pontiff of the line, with date corresponding to 8 B.C. 44 A.D. In view of this we may hold that Kunda Kunda flourished in the second part of the first century B.C. and the early half of the first century A.D.

Regarding Umasvati (who was also known as Gridhrapincha) we have no tangible evidence to fix his date. As tradition regards him both as a contemporary of Kunda Kunda, he and his disciple and successor[69] may be regarded as living in the first or second century A.D. He is credited with a learned work called *Tattvarthasutra*. He wrote in Sanskrit whereas Kunda Kunda wrote in Prakrit.

Balakapincha is said to be a direct disciple of Umasvati and as such he may be taken to have flourished somewhere in the second century A.D.[70] Not much is known about him.[71]

Samantabhadra, who is said to have flourished in the second century A.D., was a Digambara monk of considerable repute. A Sravana Belagola inscription tells us that he invited opponents to refute his views at Pataliputra, Malwa, Sindh, and Thakka, which shows that he travelled far and wide to preach the Jaina faith.[72]

JAINISM IN MATHURA

During the period under review, Mathura was a flourishing centre of Jainism in northern India, as Kalinga was in the south east. Archaeological evidence of Mathura throws a flood of light on the history of the Jaina religion, community and organization for several centuries from before the Christian era down to the mediaeval period. To understand the importance of Mathura as a centure of Jaina religion, art, and iconography[73] during the period under consideration, we may refer in brief to the results of archaeological excavations carried on at Kankalitila and other Jaina mounds by Cunningham and Dr. Furher.

Cunningham's excavations at Kankal itila yielded important results. He found here a large number of broken statues of Jaina Tirthankaras, crossbars of railings and pillars, mostly inscribed. Brick walls and pavements also were discovered but unfortunately no plans or drawings of these are available now.[74] On the basis of these discoveries Cunningham held that Kankalitila was

the site of some important Jaina buildings which existed during the rule of the Indo-Scythians. This is supported by the fact that all the twelve inscriptions which he discovered belong to the Kushana rule from 5 A.D. in the reign of Kanishka to 98 A.D. in that of Vasudeva.[75]

The last and most fruitful excavations at Kankali and its neighbourhood were carried out by Dr Furher during the years 1889-91 and 1896. Dr. Furher's discoveries are full of importance and interest inasmuch as they reveal the antiquity and wide popularity of Jainism in Mathura for several centuries before the Christian era and also throw abundant light on Jaina history during the Indo-Scythic and subsequent periods.

Amongst Furher's discoveries in 1889-89 as enumerated in the Lucknow Provincial Museum Report, ending 1 March, 1889, mention may be made, so far as early pieces are concerned, of ten inscribed statutes of several Svetambara Jinas of the Indo-Scytic period, thirty-four pieces of sculpture forming parts of a magnificent Svetambara Jaina temple of the time of the Kushana King Huvishka,[76] six bases of Buddha statues inscribed and dated in the regnal years of the rulers. Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vasudeva, an inscribed statue of the Bodhisattva Amogha-Siddhartha of the first century A.D., ten inscribed Buddhist statues of the Indo-Scythic period, a rich sculptured door-Jamb of a Buddha temple, twenty-four inscribed sculptured panels, some of which are inscribed in characters of the Indo-Scythian period, in addition to many cross-bars and railing pillars.

Furher's work in 1889-90 exposed a Jaina stupa and a Jaina temple belonging to the Digambara sect. In the course of this excavation were exhumed eight images of Tirthankaras, one hundred and twenty of stone railings, and many miscellaneous sculptures and numerous inscriptions of which seventeen belong to the Indo-Scythian (Kushana period) from 5 A.D. to 86 A.D.[77]

Excavations in the winter of 1890-91 were highly successful and far surpassed the results of the two previous years. The Provincial Museum Report for 1890-91 shows the acquisition from the Kankali mound of 737 fine pieces of sculptures including well executed beautifully finished panels, doorways, toranas, columns, and Tirthankaras. Among the sculptures 62 bear inscriptions with dates varying from 150 B.C. to 1023 A.D. On a beautifully carved Torana there is a short inscription which

seems to be written in characters more archaic than those of Dhanabhuti's record on the Barhut gateway. Again, there is another inscription which is written in two lines on an oblong slab containing the name of the founder of one of the temples excavated during the year 1889-90. This record is in the scripts of the beginning of the Christian era. These two inscriptions considered together would show that there were two Jaina temples in Mathura, one dating back to the early part of the second century B.C. and the first century A.D.[78] The existence of pre-Christian Jaina sanctuaries or establishments in Mathura is indicated by few more old inscriptions and several other facts. Among these old Jaina inscriptions the earliest is that of Uttaradasaka recording his gift of an ornamental arch. This inscription is written in the early scripts and Prakrit of the pure Pali type. On palaeographical and linguistic grounds it can be attributed to the middle of the second century B.C. or earlier.[79] The next inscriptions to be mentioned in this connection are the dedicatory records of Sivamitra and Amohini. The epigraph of Sivamitra is written in archaic script and it may be attributed to a period earlier than Kanishka,[80] though nothing can be said about its exact dating. Amohini's inscription is dated in the year 42 of the reign of Mahakshatrapa Sodsa who is believed to have reigned in the first century B.C.[81]

All this would show the association of the Jainas with Mathura in centuries earlier than the Christian era. Further, Dr Furher mentions in his Museum Report for 1890-91, a pilaster with an Indo-Scythic inscription which has been cut out of an ancient nude Jina statue. Further, there came to light a small Jaina statue which was carved out of the back of a sculptured panel with a rather archaic inscription on its obverse.[82] Thus it is evident that the architects of this Jaina temple of the Indo-Scythic period made use of the materials of an older Jaina temple in Mathura, existence of which seems to be proved by the above evidence. The antiquity of Jainism in Mathura is further attested to by an inscription[83] which Furher found incised on the statue of a Tirthankara (Aranatha) set up in Samvat 78 or 79 within the precincts of a stupa which was believed to have been built by the gods when the inscription was engraved. The inscription reads thus:

(L.I.) *Sam 79 var. 4 di = 20 etasyan purvvayam Kottivegane*

bairayam sakhayam; (L. 2) *Ko Aya Vridhahasti Arhato Nandi [a] vartasa pratimam nivartayati . . .* B *. . . bharyyaye Sravikaya (dinaye) danam pratima vodve thupe devanirmite pra. . .*[84]

The inscription is written in the Kushana script and the date or the Samvat is 79. It is difficult to ascertain as to what era the year 79 refers to. It is, however, possible that the date belongs to the era used by the great Kushana kings to whose reign the inscription was executed in 157 A.D. if the year 79 is reckoned to be 78 A.D.

It is interesting to note that the Vodva Stupa is referred to in the inscription as having been built by the gods.[85] This shows that in 157 A.D. (the time when the inscription was incised) the Vodva stupa was considered so ancient that it was regarded as the work of the gods, *i.e.* its origin was totally forgotten. The stupa is therefore supposed to have been built several centuries before the Christian era. The *Tirthkalpa* or *Rajaprasada* of Jinaprabha[86] throws ample light on the antiquity of the stupa. This work, belonging to the fourteenth century A.D., is based upon ancient materials and traditions discovered by Buhler. According to this:

> . . . the Stupa was originally of gold adorned with precious stones and erected in honour of the 7th Jina Suparsvanatha by the goddess Kuvera at the desire of two ascetics, Dharmaruci and Dharmaghosha. During the time of the twenty-third Jina, Parsvanatha, the golden Stupa was encased in bricks and a stone temple was built outside.[87]

The *Tirthkalpa* further records that 1,300 years after "the *Nirvana* of Mahavira the stupa was repaired and dedicated in honour of Parsvanatha by a person called Bhattisuri," If the *Nirvana* of Mahavira is assumed to have taken place about 527 B.C. the restoration of the stupa would be in the seventh century A.D. and its original erection in the time of Parsvanatha would not be later than the seventh century B.C. If this tradition is believed, the Vodva Stupa is perhaps the oldest known stupa so far. It reveals thereby the antiquity of Jainism in Mathura.[88]

Dr. Furher's Museum Report for the year ending 31 March, 1896 furnishes further material with regard to the history of Jainism in Mathura. He observes:

The Archaeological Surveyor, Western Provinces and Awadh, forwarded 57 ornamental slabs of great finish and artistic merit and 15 uninscribed bases of Tirthankaras which formed part of an ancient Jaina Stupa dating from the 2nd century B.C.

These sculptures came out in the course of excavations at the site adjoining the Kankali mound.

The Mathura sculptures and inscriptions referred to above fall into distinct groups, *viz.* those of the pre-Kushana period and others of the Kushana period. This shows beyond doubt that Jainism flourished in Mathura several centuries earlier than the Christian era and maintained its popularity there during the Indo-Scythic rule. We shall proceed now to discuss two important points in Jaina history, *viz.*, the Jaina church organisation and schism in the Jaina church during the post-Mauryan period in the light of evidence afforded by the post-Mauryan Jaina inscriptions of Mathura.

Jaina Community and Jaina Inscriptions of the Post-Mauryan Period

Mahavira left behind him a well organized Jaina community consisting of monks, nuns, lay men and women. Among his followers there were fourteen thousand monks. He divided them into nine ganas or schools and placed a Gandhara at the head of each school. Besides the monks, he had a large number of followers and according to the Jaina traditions about thirty-six thousand renounced their homes to take to a monastic life. At the head of the nuns was Chandana, a cousin or aunt of Mahavira. The third and fourth orders of Mahavira's community consisted of lay men and women respectively.

Jainism is primarily a philosophical ethical system intended for ascetics. Ascetics alone can reach the highest ideal which according to Jainism is *Nirvana* or *Moksha*, "the setting free" of the individual from *Samsara* by observing the right faith, right knowledge and the right path. It should be noted that Mahavira provided a place for the laity also. Though they do not leave the world and dedicate their lives to the search of the truth which a Jaina teaches, yet they can undertake the duties that would ultimately lead to *Nirvana*. The five great vows which an ascetic

has to undertake are: *Ahimsa Asatya-tyaga* (vow against untruthfulness), *Asteyavrata* (non-stealing), *Brahmacharya* (chastity) and *Aparigrahavrata* (renunciation of all love for anything or any other person).[89] Besides the above, a Jaina monk or Sramana has got to observe various other rules of conduct to enable him to appreciate the three jewels—right knowledge, right faith, and right works.[90] Mahavira prescribed twelve vows for lay worshippers which would suit household life and at the same time lead to the highest goal of an ascetic.

The vows[91] narrated by Mahavira to his disciples are as follows: *Pranatipata Viramanavrata* (never intentionally to destroy a Jiva that has more than one sense), *Mrishavada Viramanavrata* (now against falsehood and exaggeration), *Adattadana Viramanavrata* (vow against stealing or taking a thing which is not given), *Maithuna Viramanvrata* (vow of absolute chastity to one's own wife), *Parigraha Viramanvrata* (vow of curbing the desires), Disivrata parimana (vow of setting bounds to one's travels), *Upabhogaparibhoga parimana* (setting a limit to the number of things one may use), *Anarthadandavrata* (guarding against unnecessary evils), *Samayika* (meditating every morning, afternoon and evening), *Desavakasikavrata* (not going beyond the limit fixed in any of the four directions in mind or body), *Poshadhavrata* (spending by a lay man some of his time as a monk), *Atithisamvibhagavrata* (supplying to a Nirgrantha any of the fourteen things which an ascetic is allowed to use—food, drink, fruits, betelnuts, clothes, pots, blankets, towels, and things which can be lent and returned, such as seats, benches, beds, quilts, etc.,, and medicine).[92] Before a layman is fit to accept these vows he has got to renounce *Panca Atichara: Sanka* (doubts), *Kankha* (the desire to belong to another faith), *Vitigichcha* (questioning about the reality of the fruits of Karma), *Parapa handa Parasamsa* (praising hypocrites) and *Parapakhanda santhana* (association with hypocrites). What has been advised by Mahavira to Jaina monks and lay men apply *mutatis mutandis* to Jaina nuns and lay women respectively.

We have a large number of dedicatory inscriptions ranging from the year 5 to 98 of the era of the Indo-Scythic kings Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vasudeva, which reveal the existence of a well organized Svetambara community with its four-fold order inhabiting Mathura in the first-second centuries A.D. The

inscriptions refer not only to the pious gifts of the donors but supply also the names of the monks or nuns at whose exhortation the gift was made. Further, it is usual with the dedicatory epigraphs of the Kushana period to give the list of the teachers and the schools to which they belonged. They are described by their titles *Vachaka* (reciter), and *Ganin* (head of a school), etc. The schools are called *gana* (companies); the sub-division, *kula* (families) and *Sakha* (branches). It is interesting to note that a large number of *Ganas* mentioned in the inscriptions are met with in the *Kalpasutra* of the Svetambaras, which maintains a list of the number of patriarchs and the schools they founded.

Some of the important *ganas*[93] with their *kulas* and *sakhas* found in the inscriptions are Kottiya (Kodiya), Varana, Arryaudekiya, Vesavadiya, etc. The importance of these inscriptions lies particularly in the fact that they corroborate the literary traditions as given in the Svetambara texts and they show that the Svetambara community which had an important stronghold in Mathura during the Indo-Scythic period had an independent organization prior to the Christian era.

It is interesting to note that the order of nuns of the Svetambara Samgha was a very active organization in Mathura in this period. There can be no doubt, as Buhler shows, that Arya-Samghamika.[94] and Aryavasula,[95] Arya Kumaramita,[96] Balavarma, Nanda and Akaka,[97] as well as Aryasama[98] were nuns who displayed considerable religious activities. In the inscriptions they are described by their title Arya (venerable) and as disciples, Sisini, either of a monk or of a nun who is in her turn a female disciple of some monk. Their main duties seem to have been to give religious instruction to the women and to persuade them to make or offer gifts of Tirthankaras, pillars and pedestals, in the shrines.[99] The inscriptions record various gifts which were made at their instance or request (*Nirvartana*).

As regards persons who are not monks but presumably lay men and women and ordinary followers, the specifications of their social position which is sometimes added in the inscriptions, possess some interest. The donors of the images, pillars and other things in the Jaina shrines and spots of Mathura belonged to various strata in social life including bankers,[100] village headmen,[101] workers in metal,[102] caravan leaders,[103] perfumers,[104] dyers[105] and even courtesan.[106] This shows that

during the period under review Jainism was prevalent at every level of society. One of the important features of Jainism is its claim to universality, which it shares in common with Buddhism. It opens its arms to all irrespective of their social strata. "In the stereotyped introductions to the sermons of Jina it is always pointed out that they are addressed to the Aryan and non-Aryan. Thus, in the *Aupapatika-sutra* it runs as follows:

Tesim savvesim ariyamanariyanam agiles dhammam aikhai[107]

(To all these, Aryans and non-Aryans, he [the Jina], taught the law untiringly.)

This principle of universality is fully justified by the epigraphic records and is in accordance with the principle, *viz.*, the conversion of low castes, such as gardeners, etc, which is not uncommon even in the present day.

Schisms in the Jaina Church and Jaina Inscriptions of the Post-Mauryan Period

One of the remarkable events in the history of the Jaina church is the schisms which divided the Jainas into various sects and groups. The first great schism seems to have been led by Mahavira himself inasmuch as he separated from the order of Parsvanatha and organized his own order of monks distinct from that of the former. This is evident also from the fact that even today there are Jainas who trace their spiritual descent from Parsva and not Mahavira. The second blow to the Jaina church came when Jamali, the son-in-law of Mahavira, left him with 500 monks and founded a new sect called Bahurayas.[108] The next epoch making division took place during the time of Bhadrabahu who was a contemporary of Chandragupta Maurya. According to Jaina tradition there occurred during the leadership of Bhadrabahu a famine of great severity, as noticed before. Seeing that the evil would provoke offences against "ecclesiastic rules," Bhadrabahu migrated into Karnata country with a portion of his disciples. Over the other portion that remained in Magadha, Sthulabhadra assumed the headship. On the return of peace and plenty, the emigrants came back to Magadha, though Bhadrabahu remained back. The famine brought many changes in the manners and customs of the monks in Magadha. Those who went to the South maintained strict principles of monastic

life while their brethren seemed to have undertaken white robes as their clothes and grown less vigilant in their monastic rules. The Jainas who came back from Karnata branded their non-emigrant brethren as heretics.

During the time when the famine took place, the Jaina, canon seemed to have fallen into oblivion. Towards the end of the famine the monks of Magadha assembled at Pataliputra during the absence of Bhadrabahu and collected the Jaina scriptures consisting of *Angas* and *Purvas*. The monks who came back from the south refused to accept the newly established canon[109] and declared the old scriptures as lost.[110] This difference laid the foundation of disunity between the party of Sthulabhadra and that of Bhadrabahu, though it did not result in a definite schism at once.

Regarding the schism which brought about the division of the Jaina community into two sharp and distinct groups as Svetambaras and Digambaras, there are several conflicting Jaina traditions. According to the Digambara Acharya Devasena, the Svetambara Samgha came into being in Vallabhipura in Saurashtra 136 years after the death of Vikrama. The origin of the Svetambaras is, in the opinion of Devasena, due to the wicked and loose-charactered Jinasena who was a disciple of Acharya Santi.[111] The Svetambaras attribute the origin of the Digambaras to one Sivabhuti, who was in the service of the king of Ratha Vihara, and became a Jaina ascetic and received on the day of his initiation a blanket from the king as a farewell present. He was so enamoured of it that he refused to discard it in spite of his preceptor's instructions. The latter tore it to pieces one day in Sivabhuti's absence. He was angered when he came to know of this, and broke away to form the Digambara sect. His first two disciples were Kaundinya and Kottavira. His sister Uttara also wanted to follow him. Thinking that a woman should not go about naked, he dissuaded her saying that a woman "cannot obtain *Moksha*."[112]

The date of this schism according to the Svetambaras in 609 years after Mavavira,[113] or 82 A.D., while the Digambaras place it 136 years after Vikrama, *i.e.*, 79 A.D. (taking the difference of time between Mahavira's *Nirvana* and Vikrama as 470 years).[114] Though both the Digambara and Svetambara tradition agree more or less on the date of this schism (the difference being only

of three years) both Jinachancra and Sivabhuti seem to be fictitious persons as the annals of both sects disclaim the fact of any such person belonging to them.

The final schism took place according to certain Digambara traditions, in the second council which was held in Vallabhi (in Gujarat) under the presidentship of Devardhaganji. This council took place 980 (or 993) years after the death of Mahavira, probably in 454 or 467 A.D. The Digambaras attribute the origin of the whole Svetambara canon collectively known as *siddhanta* to this council of Vallabhi.[115]

Whatever may be the date of the final schism the process of disintegration began a few centuries from before the Christian era and the division which took place in the time of Bhadrabahu and that of Sivabhuti brought into being two main groups (the Digambara and the Svetambara) in the Jaina church with most of the peculiarities which serve the basis of demarcation between the two. Regarding the Svetambaras in the latter Indo-Scythic period, we have definite proof in numerous inscriptions discovered at Mathura. Most of them are engraved on the statues and pedestals of the Tirthankaras and are ascribed to the reign of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasudeva. That the donors of these sculptures belonged to the Svetambara sect is evident from the fact that the inscriptions refers to the *ganas* or the list of teachers and pontiffs agreeing with that of the Sthaviravali in the *Kalpasutra* of the Svetambaras.

As an example, we may refer to an epigraph which is dated in the year 9 of the reign of Kanisksha.[116] It states that the statue in question was dedicated by a Jaina lay woman, Vikata, at the instance of her religious guide, Naganandin, who belonged to the Kottiya *gana*. The Kottiya *gana*, as mentioned in the *Kalpasutra*, was founded by Sutthiya or Suthita, the eighth successor of Vardhamana, who died in the year 313 after Mahavira, *i.e.* in 154 B.C. Further the Jaina inscriptions show the religious activities of the Jaina nuns.[117] It is well known that only the Svetambaras admitted women into their order. The Digambaras refused to give them admission on the ground that they were incapable of obtaining *Moksha*.[118] The existence of the Svetambaras as a distinct group can be inferred from the four-fold synod of Kalaka 11 (contemporary of Gardabhilla) at Ujjayini, which consisted of monks, nuns, lay men and women.

The facts show that the Svetambaras had a distinct organization prior to the Christian era though their final separation from the Digambaras might have taken place as late as the fifth century A.D. under Devardhigani.

The Svetambara group represents, in fact, the tradition of the Parsvanaths school which was developed about 200 years before Mahavira and of which Kasi and Sametasikhara (mount Parsvanatha) in Magadha were the main centres. In a sense the schism between the Svetambara and Digambara commences from the reform of Mahavira himself in the sixth century B.C.

The Worship of Images in Jainism

The ideal of a Jaina ascetic is the attainment of *Nirvana*. An ascetic, in his striving for *Nirvana*, endeavours to suppress the natural desires of a man, and worship the higher powers. But it is not possible for a lay worshipper to cling to the ideal of an ascetic which requires stern and austere discipline. So the religious feelings of the Jaina laity, it is natural, centred round the founders of the religion (*i.e.* the Tirthankaras). This gave rise to the worship of the Jainas in Jainism and we know that the affections of the Buddhist laity were similarly directed (*i.e.* to the worship of religious heads and saints).

It is difficult to say when first the Jainas took to the practice of worshipping images. Stevenson states that an image of Mahavira was installed in Upakesapattana[119] during the leadership of the Jaina leader Prabhava (fourth century B.C.). That image-worship was in prevalence among the Jainas about the same time is supported by archaeological evidence. The Hathigumpha inscription of the Jaina king Kharavela records that he took back from Pataliputra the Jaina idol which was carried off by one of the Nandarajas from Kalinga.[120] This shows that the Nandas who ruled in the fourth century B.C. had predilections towards Jainism,[121] that Kalinga was an ancient centre of Jaina faith, and Tirthankara images were made for worship as early as the days of the Nandas. It may be noted here that among the Patna Museum exhibits there are two nude mutilated statues[122] found in Lohanipur, Patna Town. One of them is polished in a manner characteristic of the Mauryan age and can be roughly attributed to the third century B.C. and the other, on stylistic grounds, to the second century B.C. It is quite

possible that they represent some Tirthankara images of that period. The author of the *Arthasastra* seems to refers to the Jaina gods in Jayanta, Vaijayanta and Sarvarthasiddhi.[123]

Most of the important caves, *viz*. Ananta, Rani and Ganesa Gumphas in Orissa were excavated in the second century B.C. The Ananta Gumpha contains symbols like the *Trisula* and *Svastika* on its back wall. Moreover, the courtyard of the cave possesses images of many Jaina deities and saints.[124] The Ranigumpha is elaborately decorated with scenes of human activities some of which may represent Jaina religious festivals.[125] These facts would show that image worship was popular among the Jainas several centuries before the Christian era.

Mathura was a very important seat of the Jainas during the period under review. The archaeological excavations[126] there have laid bare the remains of a Jaina stupa, temples and sculptures ranging usually from the second century B.C. to the third century A.D. The Mathura sculptures have placed at our disposal immense and varied materials with regard to the study of Jaina deities. They represent most of the Tirthankaras including Rishabha, the earliest one, which shows that the belief of the Jainas in all the 24 Tirthankaras was an established fact during the period under review.

The Tirthankara images are purely Indian conceptions and do not betray any foreign influence. One of the striking features of the Jaina figures is their nudity which distinguishes them from Buddha and Buddhist images. Nudity, however, is true only of the Digambara images, whereas the Svetambaras clothe their figures. The Jinas bear symbols not only on the palms and soles but also in the centre of their breasts:

> The hair is usually arranged in short curls in the shape of spirals turned towards the right as also the case with most Buddha images. But in the earlier specimens we find sometimes a different treatment. The hair assumes the appearance of perwig or it hangs down on the shoulders in strange locks. In contradistinction with Buddha, the earlier Tirthankaras have neither Ushnishas nor Urna but those of the latter part of the middle ages have a distinct excrescence on the top of the head.[127]

A very interesting type of the Tirthankara images of our period in Mathura is that of the Jina quadruple which is known in Jaina inscriptions and literature as *Sarvato-bhadrika pratima.* They consist of "a block square in section"[128] with a Tirthankara carved on each of the four faces. There is no injunction, however, as to the particular Tirthankaras to be figured there, but generally the most important ones are chosen. A quadruple image of an "unnamed Jina perfectly nude" is represented on an inscribed sculptured panel found in Kankali mound in Mathura.[129] The epigraph records that it was the gift of Kumaramita, the first wife of Sreshthin called Veni. The figure was made at the request of the venerable Vasula, a female pupil of the venerable Sanghamika who was in turn a female pupil of the venerable monk Jayabhuti. The inscription has been assigned to the Kushana Period on paleographical grounds.[130] From the same site, the Kankali mound in Mathura, we have another very interesting representation of an inscribed Sarvatobhadrika pratima of our period. The Jina shown there is Parsvanatha with traces of his snake canopy. The inscription states that this four-fold image was dedicated by one Sthira for the welfare and the happiness of all creatures. This inscription also belongs to the Kushana period.[131]

We may refer now to a few early specimens of other types of sculptured representations of Jaina Tirthankaras in Mathura. An elaborate sculpture containing the figure of a seated Jaina was bound in the Kankali mound in February 1890. Unfortunately the head of the figure is missing. The Jina is shown with numerous attendant deities. On the pedestal are two lions and two bulls. From the presence of the bull it is evident that the Jina depicted here is Adinatha or Rishabhadatta. The inscription (defaced) at the base seems to be in some early script.[132]

Another specimen of an Adinatha figure belonging to the Kushana period is to be seen on the Mathura Museum Panel No. B 4. The inscription states that the figure was set up in a Jaina monastery by a lady in the year 84 of the reign of Shahi Vasudeva,[133] the Kushana king. The relief in front of the pedestal contains a Dharma Chakra on a pillar being worshiped by human devotees including the male and female as well.

A mutilated figure of Aranatha[134] is found represented on a

sculptured panel found in the Kankali mound in the year 1890-91. It belongs to the Kushana period. The Jina is shown standing by the side of a wheel placed on a *trisula* with a piece of cloth in his left hand. Naminatha and Neminatha, the 21st and 22nd Jaina Tirthankaras seem to have been represented along with Parsvanatha and Mahavira on a broken sculptured panel which might have formed part of the decoration of a Torana Pillar[135] of a Jaina monastery in Mathura during our period. There is a fine specimen of a Neminatha figure[136] in the Mathura Museum which Vogel has described in his catalogue of the Mathura Museum antiquities; Neminatha is seated "cross-legged in the attitude of meditation" on the throne. The throne rests on two pillars and a pair of lions. Behind the pillars are two figures with hands joined in adoration. From the throne an ornamental cloth hangs down between the two lions. Below it there seems to be a wheel. There is a conch-shell (symbolic of Neminatha) on the plain rim of the pedestal.

The Jaina legends introduce very often the story of Krishna Vasudeva and his family. In the *Antagada Dasao*[137] we are told that some members of Krishna's family joined the Jaina Sangha at the instance of Arishtanemi, and Krishna also, as the legend goes, was proclaimed by him, that is Arshtanemi, to be the 12th among the Tirthankaras who would arise in the Duhshama Sushama age. There is a sculptured panel[138] of Mathura which represents an ascetic receiving homage from the female devotees. The inscription records that the panel was a gift of the wife of a person called Dhanahastin. It bears the year 95 of the Kushana king Vasudeva's reign probably. The word Kanha Sramana[139] occurs in bold type between the head of the ascetic and that of the lady devotee to the proper right. This Kanha may be the Krishna Vasudeva of the Jaina legend. Whether the Jaina viewpoint regarding Krishna Vasudeva and his family is accepted or not, this much is true that Jainism and Vaishnavism came in close contact with each other during the time of Arishtanemi who was a cousin of Krishna and Baladeva. Because of the family relationship between Arishtanemi and Krishna Vasudeva, Jainism was co-existent with Vaishnavism since Arishtanemi's time in places like Dvaraka, Central India, and the Yamuna Valley, the sphere of Yadava influence. Arishtanemi's emblem is a conch which may be reminiscent of

his relationship with the Vaishnavite family of Krishna and Balarama.

Parsvanatha occurs very frequently in the Mathura art of our period. We have already referred to his representation as Sarvatobhadrika Pratima. We shall consider some specimens of his figure belonging to our period. As already stated, the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, constrains an early figure of Parsvanatha with snake-hoods over the head. Though its findspot is not known, on a stylistic basis, it can be attributed to the first century B.C. The Mathura Museum Panel B. 70 represents a stele[140] with nude Jina figures standing one each on the four sides. Three of these figures have been provided with haloes; the fourth one is represented with a seven-headed Naga hood.[111] This fourth figure represents, no doubt, Parsvanatha. The Mathura Museum Panel B. 71 also contains a representation of Parsvanatha with a similar Nagahood. Both these figures belong perhaps to the period under review.

Vardhamana Mahavira is the most popular of all the Tirthankaras. There are innumerable sculptured representations of his figure in Mathura and other centres of Jaina faith. We shall, however, for our present purpose refer only to two Vardhmana images found in the Kankali mound in Mathura which belong perhaps to early centuries of the Christian era. In one panel he is shown seated under his sacred tree[142] with several attendant figures, one of whom is a Naga with a canopy of cobra hoods. There is a defaced inscription on the pedestals of his image which begins with "Namo"[143] in early script. The other image in question is seated under a small canopy with two attendants, one on either side.[144] Both the Vardamana figures are seated in *dhyanasana* posture, and have, besides the attendants, two lions on the pedestal and angels or Gandharvas hovering in the air and offering garlands.

The Jainas were primarily founder worshipper, but their mythology includes besides the 24 Tirthankaras a number of other deities. One of the most important deity of this class is Naigamesha who is represented on the obverse of a fragment of a Jaina sculpture discovered at Mathura.[145] The inscription incised on the panel is written in scripts of the beginning of the Christian era. The deity (Naigamesha) is goat-headed and seated on a low seat in an easy attitude. He is shown with his face

turned to the right, as if addressing another personage, but the whole image has been lost.[146] To his right are three female figures standing and an infant is shown close to the knee. The deity is called in the inscription "Bhagavat Nemeso."

Nemeso of the present inscription is a variant of the name of the deity Harinegamesi in the *Kalpasutra,* and Naigameshin in other works.[147] In Jaina religious art he is depicted as a figure either with the head of a ram or antelope or a goat. In the Mathura sculpture which is the subject of discussion here he is found bearing a goat's head. Cunningham discovered four mutilated figures of Naigamesha which he failed to identify and described them simply as deities with an ox's head.[148]

According to Buhler the sculpture depicting Nagamesha with female figures and a small child refers most probably to the legend which narrates the exchange of the embryo of Devananda and Trisla.[149] The legend in the *Kalpasutra* in short is this. Mahavira took the form of an embryo in the Brahmani Devananda's body. Thinking that an Arhat ought not to be born in a low Brahmanical family, Indira directed Harinegameshi, the divine commander of infantry to transfer Mahavira from the body of Devananda to Trisala, a lady of the Kshatriya family who was also with a child. Harinegameshi carried out successfully Indra's order.

In Jaina mythology, Naigameshin is regarded also as deity of procreation. The *Antagada-Dasao* refers to the story of how lady Sulasa propitiated Naigameshin and conceived through his compassion.[150] The ancient Jainas represented Naigameshin in both male and female forms as presiding over childbirth. The sculptures of the Mathura Museum Nos. 2547 and E.I. represent the deity in his male aspect, and sculpture No. E 2 (of the same Museum) in her female aspect as the goat-headed goddess.[151]

The Jaina pantheon includes deities like Saraswati. Ganesa, etc. which figure prominently in the Hindu pantheon also. We have from the Jaina mound of Kankalitila two headless female statues. One of them has not been identified,[152] the other is the figure of Saraswati.[153] The goddess is seated on a rectangular pedestal with her knees up. She has a manuscript in her left hand and the right hand, which was raised, is lost. There is a small attendant on either side. The inscription on the pedestal consists of seven lines in the Indo-Scythic script.[154]

Besides the figures of Tirthankaras and other deities of the Jaina pantheon, the Mathura sculptures of the Kankali mound bear isolated symbols and designs auspicious to the Jainas, such as the *Svastika, Vajra*, shell, bull, elephant, goose and antelope, etc.[155] *Svastika* to the Jainas is the emblem of Suparsvanatha, the 7th Jina; the *Vajra* is that of Dharmanatha, the 15th Jina; the shell is the cognizance of Neminatha, the 22nd Jina, the elephant of Ajitanatha, the 2nd Jina, the goose of Sumatinatha the 5th Jina, the antelope of Santinatha, the 16th Jina, and the bull of Rishabhanatha, the 1st Jina; all these would show that the art of the Kankali mound was thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Jainism.

A *dharmachakra* and *Kalpavriksha*[156] are among the Jaina antiquities found in Chausa (Shahabad District, Bihar) now preserved, as stated above, in the Patna Museum, Patna. The *dharmachakra* is supported by two nude female figures (*Yakshinis*) similar in style to the Sanchi ones. They issue forth from the mouth of crocodiles with upturned fish tails.

The *Kalpavriksha* or the Asoka tree is one with various branches and leaves. On its top is seated a female figure carrying bowl in her hands. The association of a female figure with trees reminds us of the Salabhanjika or Vanadevata motifs of ancient India.

Both the *dharmachakra* and the *Kalpavriksha*, on stylistic grounds, may be ascribed to the second-first century B.C.[157]

Along with the *dharmachakra* and the *Kalpavriksha* mentioned above were also found sixteen bronze images of Tirthankaras. Of them, ten are standing and six seated.

The standing Tirthankara images resemble in execution the corresponding ones of the Kushana period from Mathura. They are all nude, and stand in the Kayotsarga posture. With the exception of one Parsvanatha image, none of them bears any *lanchana*. Further, they are represented singly without the *sasanadevatas* (*i.e.* the *Yakshas* and *Yakshinis*) or Chauri-bearers which seem to have come into vogue in the Gupta period.

From the Gupta period onwards, we find that the Jaina sculptors have regularly appended the *Yaksha* and *Yakshini* figures to the sculptures of the Tirthankaras. Thus it may be concluded that the *lanachanas* as well as the *Yaksha* figure

might have remained as isolated and in a germinal state and then actual association with the Jaina images did not take place in the Kushan age of Indian art.[158]

The seated Tirthankara images from Chausa belong to the Gupta period. The wide popularity of Jainism in Bihar during the subsequent periods is attested also by the Jaina images found in Aluara (Manbhum District, Bihar). These bronzes are twenty-nine in number, twenty-eight of which are Tirthankara images, while the remaining one shows the goddess Ambika.

II

The following paragraphs are reproduced from Sir Denzil Ibbetson's Census Report of 1883 because they illustrate the position of Jainism at that time. Like Sikhism it was rapidly falling into the position of a mere sect of Hinduism. Like the Sikh, the orthodox Jain intermarries with Hindus, especially with the Vaishnavas, and apparently he does so on equal terms, there being no tendency to form a hypergamous Jain group taking brides from Vaishnavas or other Hindus but not giving their daughters in return, on the model of the Kesdhari Sikhs.

The Affinities of the Jain Religion

The position which the Jain religion occupies with reference to Hinduism and Buddhism has much exercised the minds and pens of scholars, some looking upon it as a relic of Buddhism, while other and I believe far weightier authorities class it as a Hindu sect. In favour of this latter view we have, among others, the deliberate opinions of Horace Wilson and H.T. Colebrooke, who fully discuss the question and the arguments on either side. The latter concludes that the Jains 'constitute a sect of Hindus, differing indeed from the rest in some very important tenets, but following in other respects a similar practice, and maintaining like opinions and observances. The question of the origin of the religion and of its affinities with the esoteric doctrines of the two rival creeds may be left to scholars. We have seen how much of Hindu belief and practice has been intermingled with the teachings of Buddha as represented by the northern school of his followers: and it is probable that, had Buddhism survived as a

distinct religion in India side by side with Brahminism, the admixture would have been infinitely greater. On the other hand, modern Hinduism has probably borrowed much of its esoteric doctrines from Buddhism. It is certain that Jainism, while Hindu in its main outlines, includes many doctrines which learn towards those of Buddha; and it may be that it represents a compromise which sprang into existence during the struggle between Hinduism and Buddhism and the decay of the latter, and that as Rhys Davis says 'the few Buddhists who were left in India as the Muhammedan conquest of Kashmir in the 12th century preserved an ignoble existence by joining the Jain sect, and by adopting the principal tenets as to caste and ceremonial observations of the ascendant Hindu creeds.'

But as to its present position, as practised in the Punjab at least, with reference to the two faiths in their existing shape, I conceive that there can be no manner of doubt. I believe that Jainism is now as near akin to Hinduism as is the creed of the Sikhs and that both can scarcely be said to be more than varieties of the parent Hindu faith; probably wider departures from the original type than are Vaishnavism and Saivism, but not so wide as many other sects which, being small and unimportant, are not generally regarded as separate religions. As a fact the Punjab Jains strenuously insist upon their being good Hindus. I have testimony to this effect from the Bhabras of two districts in which every single Bhabra is returned as a Jain; and an Agarwal Bania, an Extra Assistant Commissioner and a leading member of the Jain Community in Delhi, the Punjab headquarters of the religion, writes: 'Jains (Saraogis) are a branch of Hindus, and only differ in some religious observances. They are not Buddhists.' Indeed the very word Buddhist is unknown to the great part even of the educated natives of province, who are seldom aware of the existence of such a religion.

I think the fact that, till the disputes regarding the Saraogi procession at Delhi tired up ill-feeling between the two parties, the Hindu (Vaishnava) and Jain (Saraogi) Banias used to inter-marry freely in that great centre of the Jain faith, and still do inter-marry in other districts, is practically decisive as to the light in which the people themselves regard the affinities of the two religions. I cannot believe that the members of a caste which, like the Banias, is more than ordinarily strict in its observance of all

caste rules and distinctions and of the social and ceremonial restrictions which Hinduism imposes upon them, standing indeed in this respect second only to the Brahmans themselves, would allow their daughters to marry the followers of a religion which they looked upon as alien to their own. I have already explained how elastic the Hindu religion is, and what wide diversity it admits of under the cloak of sect; and I shall presently show that Sikhism is no bar to inter-marriage. But Sikhism is only saved from being a Hindu sect by its political history and importance; while Buddhism is so utterly repugnant to Hinduism in all its leading characteristics, that any approach to it, at any rate in the direction of its social or sacerdotal institutions, would render communication impossible. Even in Lahul, where, as we have seen Hinduism and Buddhism are so intergled that it is difficult to say where the one begins and the other ends, inter-marriage is unheard of. I shall briefly describe the leading tenets and practices of the Jains; and I think the description will of itself almost suffice to show that Jainism is, if not purely a Hindu sect, at any rate nearer to that religion than to the creed of Buddha.

The Tenets of the Jains

The chief objects of Jain reverence are twenty-four beatified saints called Arhats or Tirthankaras, who correspond with the Buddhas of the northern Buddhists and of Vedantic Hinduism, but are based upon the final beatitude of the Hindus rather than upon the final absorption preached by Buddha, and are wholly unconnected with the Gautamic legend, of even the broad outlines of which the Punjab Jains are entirely ignorant. Of these saints, the first Rishabnath, the twenty-third, Parasnath, and the twenty-fourth, Mahavir, are the only ones of whom we hear much; while of these three again Parasnath is chiefly venerated. Rishabnath is supposed to be an incarnation of Vishnu, and is worshipped in that capacity at his temple in the south-west of Mewar by Hindus and Jains in common. But bedies these saints, the Jains, unlike the Buddhists, recognise the whole Hindu antheon, including the Puranic heroes, as divine and fit objects of worship, though it subordination to the great saints already mentioned, and place their images in their temples side by side with those of their Arhats. They have indeed added to the absurdities of the Hindu Olympus, and recognise 64 Indras and

22 Devis. They reverse serpents and the *lingam* or Priapus, and in many parts ordinarily worship in Hindu temples as well as in their own. Like the Buddhists they deny the divine origin of the Hindu *Vedas;* but unlike them they recognise the authority of those writings, rejecting only such portions of them as prescribe sacrifice and the sacred fire, both of which institutions they condemn as being inimical to animal life. Like the Buddhist they deny the Hindu doctrine of purification from sin by alms and ceremonies and reject the Hindu worship of the Sun and of fire except at weddings, initiations, and similar ceremonies, where they subordinate their objections to the necessity of employing Brahmans as ministrants. The monastic system and celibate priesthood of the Buddhists are wholly unknown to them, and they have, like the Hindus, a regular order of ascetic devotees who perform no priestly functions; while their *purohits* or family priests, and the ministrants who officiate in their temples and conduct the ceremonial of their weddings, funerals, and the like, must necessarily be Brahmans, and, since Jain Brahmans are practically unknown, are always Hindus. The idols of the Jain saints are not daily bathed, dressed, and fed, as are the Hindu idols; and if fruits are presented to them it is not as food but as an offering and mark of respect. The Jains, unlike the Buddhists, observe in theory the twelve Sanskaras or ceremonies of purification prescribed by the Hindu creed from the birth to the death of a male, though in both religions many of them are commonly omitted; but they reject the Hindu *Sraddhas* or *rites* for the repose of the spirit. Their ceremonial at weddings and their disposal of the dead are identical with those of the Hindus and differ from those of the Buddhists; and, unlike the latter, they follow the Hindu law of inheritance, calling in learned Brahmans as its exponents in case of disputes. The Jains observe with the greatest strictness all the rules and distinctions of caste which are so repugnant to Buddhism, and many if not all wear the Brahminical thread; in the Punjab the religion is practically confined to the mercantile or Vaisya castes, and considerable difficulty is made about admitting members or other castes as proselytes. Their rules about intermarriage and the remarriage of widows are no less strict than those of their Hindu brethren, with whom they marry freely. The extravagant reverence for relies which is so marked a feature of Buddhism is wholly

unknown to the Jains, who agree with the Hindus in their veneration for the cow. They carry the reverence for animal life, which is taught by the Hindu and practised by the Buddhist, to an absurd extent; their devotees carry a brush with which they sweep their path, are forbidden to move about or eat when the sun is down or to drink water without straining, and many of them wear a cloth over their mouths, lest they should tread upon, swallow, or inhale an insect or other living thing. Indeed some of them extend the objection to taking life to plants and flowers. 'To abstain from slaughter is the highest perfection; to kill any living thing is sin.' The Jains, unlike the Buddhists, observe all the Hindu fasts and attend the Hindu places of pilgrimage; though they also have holy places of their own, the most important being the mountain of Samet near Pachete in the hills between Bengal and Bihar, which was the scene of Paŕasnath's liberation from earthly life, the village Papauri also in Bihar, where the Arhat Vardhamana departed from this world, and the great Jain temples on Mount Abu in Rajputana and Mount Girinar in Kathiawar. In no case do they make pilgrimage to the holy places of Buddhism.

I have been able to collect but little information about the actual practice of the Jain religion by the mass of its modern followers, as distinguished from its doctrines and ceremonials set forth in the scriptures of the faith. The Jains, and particularly the orthodox or Digambara sect, are singularly reticent in the matter; while the religion being almost wholly confined to the trading classes, and very largely to cities, has not come under the observation of the Settlement Officers to whom we are indebted for so large a part of our knowledge of the people. But the Jains are the most generally educated class in the Punjab, and it is probable that the religion has preserved its original form comparatively unaltered. Horace Wilson, however, says of the Jaian *Jatis* or ascetics:— 'Some of them may be simple enthusiasts; many of them, however, are knaves, and the reputation which they enjoy all over India as skilful magicians is not very favourable to their general character; they are in fact not unfrequently charlatans, pretending to skill in palmistry and necromancy, dealing in empirical therapeutics and dabbling in chemical or rather alchemical manipulations.'

Since these paragraphs were written not only has a great

deal more knowledge of Jainism and its teaching been acquired by European scholarship, but the Jains themselves have in the last two or three decades displayed considerable intellectual activity. Whatever the causes of this may be, and one of them at least has been the stimulus of contact with western inquiry and thought, it has resulted in the formation of new groups or the revival of old groups under new names or the adaptation of old names to new ideals. The attempt to describe the Jains as a caste and to unravel their sects made in Vol. III, pp. 34009 *infra*, fails because Jainism, like all other living creeds, is in a state of flux. Recently the Sthanakwasi group has come to the front. In 1901 the term Thanakwasi was returned as a mere synonym of *sadh-margi* or Dhundia. and ascetic of extreme orthodoxy. But the Sthanakwasis now number 22 per cent of the Jain population of the Punjab, and are classed by Pandit Hari Kishan Kaul, C.I.E., as a branch of the Svetambaras quite distinct from the Dhundias. Ibbetson, who does not allude to the Sthanakwasi, thus describes the Dhundias—"A more modern sect is the Dhundia, so called because its followers were persecuted by the orthodox and compelled to take refuge in ruins or *dhund*. It was with these ascetics that the practice of hanging a cloth or *patti* before the mouth originated; and the Terahpanthis and Dhundias carry their regard for animals to extremes, teaching that no living thing should be interfered with, that a cat should be permitted to catch a mouse, or a snake to enter the cradle of a child. It would appear that the Dhundias are wholly celibate ascetics, and include no laity. They altogether renounce idols, and call those who venerate them *pujari* or 'worshippers.' They are, I believe, confined to the Svetambara section, the Digambaras laughing at the cloth, as breeding more insects in the mouth than it prevents from entering it." By *pujari* may have been meant *pujera*. The priests of the Dhundias are called *puj* or *sri puj*.

Classification of the Jain Sects and Orders

Sir Edward Maclagan suggested the following classification of the Jain sects:

Digambara	Tera-panthi Bis-panthi Svetambara	Mandirapanthi or Pujari

Svetambara	Dhundia Baistola Tera-panthi	Dhundia

But, putting aside the non-idolatrous Sthanakwasis and Dhundias, the idol-worshipping Jains may be tentatively classified as follows:

I. Digambara, 'sky-clad' or naked, or perhaps tawny clothed. This according to Ibbetson, is the orthodox sect, and has preserved the religion in more of its original purity than have the Svetambara. The idols of the Digambara are naked, their ascetics are supposed to reject clothing, though now-a-days they wear coloured raiment, only throwing it aside when they receive or eat food, and they hold that no woman can attain salvation.

The Digambaras include two great sub-sects:

(i) The Biapanbhi, who worship standing before naked idols, and refuse to burn lamps before them. It is not quite clear what is the difference between this distinction and that into Digambaras and Svetambaras. Horace Wilson notes that the Bispanthis are said by some to be the orthodox Digambaras, of whom the Terapanthis are a dissenting branch.

(ii) The Terapanthi, who clothe their idols, worship seated, burn lamps before them, but present no flower or fresh fruit to them, holding it to be a sin to take away even vegetable life, though they will eat vegetables if anybody will give them ready cut and prepared for cooking.

II. The Setambara or white-clothed, whose idols are clothed in white, as are their ascetics, except perhaps in the last stage which few if any attain, and women are capable of beatitude; indeed they believe the 19th Arhat to have been a woman, and so represent her in many of their temples.

The Setambara have no recognised sub-sects, but their ascetics generally known as *sadhus* appear to have a special sub-division called Sambegi or Samegi. The *sadhus* form a superior order or the superior degree in an order, the *jatis* being an inferior order or novitiates in the order in which the *sadhu* holds the higher degree.

The Digambaras also have ascetics, called *muni* who appear

to be identical with the *sadhus*, described in Vol. III, p. 344 *infra*. In both of these main sects the laity is or ought to be called Saraogi, the more honorific term Bhabra being reserved for laymen of higher spiritual standing or priority of conversion.

The Jain Caste System

The doctrines which divide the Digambara from the Svetambara are abstruse and as yet nor fully understood, but the former hold that the Arhats were saints from birth and so their images should be naked and unadorned, while the Svetambara hold that they only attained sanctity on reaching manhood and so should be clothed and decked with jewels. The disruption of the Jain community will be intelligible, though far from fully explained, when we come to consider their philosophy, but before doing so a brief note on the caste-system of the Jains may be usefully interpolated.

According to Sir Denzil Ibbetson "nearly 99 per cent of the Jains in the Punjab belong to the trading classes and almost exclusively to the Bania and Bhabra castes, the latter being chiefly confined to the northern Divisions. I believe that Oswal Banias are almost without an exception Svetambara Jains, and that such of the Khandelwal Banias and Bhabras as are Jains also belong to this sect. The Agarwal Banias, on the other hand, are, I understand, invariably Digambaras. The *Mahesri Banias* are seldom if ever Jains. Mr. Lawrence, Assistant Agent to the Governor-General at Mount Abu, to whose kindness I am indebted for much information collected on the spot at Ajmer, the great centre of Jainism in those parts, tells me that there the Jains are divided into two sects, the Digambaras or Saraogis, and the Svetambaras or Oswals, and he confirms the assertion after repeating his inquiries at my request. There is no doubt whatever that 'Oswal' is a tribal and not a sectarian name, and is quite independent of religion; and that the term Saraogi properly applies to the whole of the Jain laity of whatever sect. But the fact that Oswal and Svetambara are in Ajmer used as synonymous shews how strictly the tribe adheres to its sect. This erroneous use of the words apparently extends to some parts of the Punjab. The Bhabras of Hushyarpur who are of course Swetambaras, state distinctly that all Jains are Saraogis, themselves included; but a Bhabra of Gurdaspur emphasized his

assertion that no Agarwal could become a Bhabra by pointing out that the former were all Saraogis. On the other hand Mr. Wilson writes that in Sirsa on the Rajputana border, the words Oswal and Saraogi, which according to Mr. Lawrence express in Ajmer the two poles of Jainism, are 'used as almost convertible terms.' The matter seems to need clearing up. The real fact seems to be that Agarwals belong so invariably to the Digambara and Oswals to the Svetambara sect, that the term Oswal is used for the latter while Saraogi is applied to the former and more orthodox sect only. There is a local tradition that Parasnath, the probable founder of the Svetambara sect, was an Oswal of Osia or Osnagar in Jodhpur, the place from which the Oswals take their name; but the Jain scriptures say that he was born at Benaras and died in Bihar."

The same authority points out that the Svetambara and Digambara do not intermarry, and the Bhabras do not intermarry with Saraogis. But the Svetambara and Dhundia are said to intermarry. These restrictions are purely sectarian, but they may well be accentuated by tribal distinctions. However this may be the sectarianism of the Jains does not appear to have relaxed their caste system but to have introduced into it new restrictions on intermarriage. The Jain tenets have however had other important social consequences. Not only is monogamy the general rule, but the survivor of a married couple should not marry again and this ideal is followed to some extent by Hindus in the whole south-eastern Punjab. Women also hold a better position in Jainism than they do in most Hindu castes.

The Jain Philosophy

Jainism, like Buddhism, is a monastic religion which denies the authority of the *Vedas* one is regarded by the Brahmans as heretical. The Jains comprise a laity and a monastic order, and are also divided into two great sub-sects the Svetambaras or 'White-robes', and the Digambaras or 'Sky-clad' as the monks of the latter went about naked until the Muhammedans compelled them to adopt a loin cloth. Their dogmatic differences are trivial, and they differ more in conduct.

Jainism goes back to a very remote period and to those primitive currents of religious and metaphysical speculation which gave rise to the oldest philosophies of the *Sankhya* and

Yoga, and also to Buddhism, but while it shares in the theoretical pessimism of those systems and in liberation, their practical ideal, it realises their principles in a different way. Life in the world, perpetuated by the transmigration of the soul, is regarded as essentially bad and painful, and our aim must be to put an end to it. This will be attained when we attain to right knowledge. Like *Sankhya* and *Yoga*, Jainism recognises a dualism of matter and soul. Souls are principally all alike substances (monads) characterized by intelligence, connexion with matter causing the differences actually in them. Matter is a something capable of becoming anything, as in the *Sankhya*. But Jainism has worked out these general metaphycial principles on its own lines, upon animistic ideas and popular notions of a cruder and more primitive character than the *Sankhya*, which adopted Brahmanical ideas. Jainism being like Buddhism originally an order of monks outside the pale of Brahmanism has often been confounded with it, but it rejects the Buddhist views that all things are transitory and that there is no absolute or permanent Being. It is at least as old as Buddhism, for the canons of the latter sect speak of the rival sect under its old name of Nigantha and of Nataputta, an epithet of the last Jain prophet, Vardhamana Mahavira, its leader in Buddha's time. Mahavira indeed was probably somewhat older than Buddha. He was not however the founder of the sect, and no such traditions as make Buddha the author a new religion are preserved of him. He followed an established faith, became a monk and in twelve years attained perfect knowledge (*kevala*). His predecessor Parshva, the last but one of the Tirthankaras, has better claims to be considered the founder of Jainism. He died 250 years before Mahavira. His predecessor, Arishtanemi, is said to have died 84,000 years before the latter's *nirvana* and so can hardly be regarded as a historical personage. He was the 22nd Tirthankara and is connected with Krishna by relationship in the legend.

Jain philosophy is abstruse. It is based on the theory of the 'Indefiniteness of Being' which is upheld by a very strange dialectical method called *Syadvada* to which the Jains attach so much importance that is frequently used as a synonyms for the Jain system itself.

Supplementary to this is the doctrine of the *nayas* or ways of expressing the nature of things. All these are one-sided and

contain but a part of the truth.

Metaphysically all things, *dravya* or substances, are divided into 'lifeless,' *ajivakaya*, and 'lives' or 'souls', *Jiva*. The former comprise space, *akasa*, two subtle substances, *dharma* and *adharma*, and matter, *pudgala*. Space affords room for souls and matter to subsist, *dharma* enables them to move or be moved, *adharma* to rest. In primitive speculation the two latter terms seem to have denoted the two invisible fluids which cause sin (*papa*) and merits (*punya*), respectively Space again is divided into *lokakasa*, occupied by the world of things and its negative, the absolute void. *Dharma* and *adharma* are co-extensive with the world, and so no soul or atom can get beyond the world as outside it neither could move or rest without their aid. Matter is eternal and consists of atoms, but it is indeterminate in its nature and may become anything, as earth, fire, etc.

Different from matter are the souls, which are infinite in number. The whole world is literally filled with them. They are substances and, as such, eternal but are not of definite size, contracting or expanding according to the dimensions of the body in which they are incorporated for the time being. Their characteristic is intelligence which may be obscured but never destroyed. They are of two kinds, mundane (*samsarin*) and liberated (*mukta*). The former are still subject to the cycle of birth, the latter have accomplished absolute purity, will be embodied no more, dwell in perfection at the top of the universe and have no more to do with worldly affairs. They have reached *nirvana nirvriti* or *mukti*.

A cardinal doctrine of Jainism is the evil influence of *karma*. Matter is of two kinds, gross which we can perceive, and subtle, beyond the ken of our senses. The latter, for instance, is that matter which is transformed into the different forms of *karma*. Subtle matter ready to be transformed into *karma* pours into the soul by influx (*asrava*). A sould harbours (*kashaya*) which like a viscous substance retain this subtile matter, and combines with it by *bandha* (combination). This subtle matter in such combination is transformed into the 8 kinds of *karma* and forms a kind of subtle body, *karmanasharita*, which clings to the soul in all its future births and determines its individual lot. But as it has been caused, so *karma* in its turn causes painful or pleasant conditions and events which the individual must undergo. Having thus

produced its due effect, the *karma* matter is purged from the soul by *nirjara* or 'purging off.' The *bandha* and *nirjara* processes go on simultaneously, and thereby the soul is forced to continue its mundane existence. After death it goes, with its *karmanaharira*, straightway to the place of its new birth and assumes its new body, contracting or expanding according to its size.

Embodied souls are living beings, and their classification is of great practical as well as theoretical interest to the Jains. Their highest duty, *parama dharma*, being not to kill any living beings, *ahinsa*, they must learn the various forms which life may possess. The highest have five senses, and such are the vertebrates. Others may have fewer, and the lowest have only the sense of touch. Most insects have two, *e.g.* bees have the senses of touch and sight. The higher animals, men, denizens of heaven, and the gods possess in addition and internal organ or mind (*manas*) and are therefore rational (*samjnin*), while the lower animals are *asamjnin*. The Jain notions about beings with only one organ are in part peculiar to themselves. As the four elements are animated by souls, so particles of earth, water etc., are the body of souls called earth-lives, water lives and so on. These elementary lives live, die and are re-born, in the same or another elementary body. They may be gross or subtle, and the latter are invisible. The last class of one-organed lives are plants; in some species each plant is the body of one soul only, but of other species each plant is an aggregation of embodied souls which have all functions of life, such as nutrition and respiration, in common. That plants have souls is a belief shared by other Indian philosophies, but the Jains have developed this theory in a remarkable way. Plants in which only one soul is embodied are always gross, and can only exist in the habitable world; but those of which each is a colony of plant lives may also be subtle and, being invisible, may be distributed all over the world. Such plants are called *nigoda*, and are composed of an infinite number of souls forming a very small cluster, have respiration and nutrition in common, and experience the most exquisite pains. Innumerable *nigodas* form a globule, and with them the whole space of the world is closely packed, as a box is filled with powder. The *nigodas* furnish the supply of souls in place of those who have reached *nirvana*. But an infinitesimal fraction of a single *nigoda* has sufficed to replace all the souls liberated since

the beginningless past down to the present, so the *sansara* will never be empty of living beings.

Mundane beings are also divided or cross-divided into four grades (*gati*), *viz.* denizens of hell, animals, men and gods, into which beings are born according to their merits or demerits.

The theory of *karma* being the key-stone of the Jain system merits fuller explanation. When it has penetrated the soul it is transformed into 8 kinds (*prakriti*) of *karma* singly or severally which from the *karmanasharita*, just as food is transformed by digestion. These 8 kinds include *gotra i.e.*, that which determines the race, caste, family, social standing &c. of the individual: *ayuska*, which determines his length of life as a hell-being, man, god or animal; and *nara*, which produces the various elements which collectively make up an individual existence, *e.g.*, the body with its general and special faculties etc. Each kind of *karma* has also predestined limits of time within which it must take effect and be purged off. Connected with this theory of *karma*-working is that of the six *leshyas*. The totality of *karma* amalgamated by a soul induces on it a transcendental colour, which our eyes cannot perceive. This is called *leshya*, and it may be black, blue or grey, which are bad and yellow, red or white, which are good 'characters' morally.

The individual state of the soul is produced by its inborn nature and the vitiating action of *karma*, and this is its developmental or *parinamika* state. But there are other states which refer only to the behaviour of the *karma*. Ordinarily *karma* takes effect and produces its proper results: then the soul is in the *audayika* state. But by proper efforts *karma* may be neutralized (*upashamila*) for a time, though it is still present, then the soul is in the *aupashamika* state. When it is annihilated, the soul is in the *kshapita* state, which is necessary for reaching *nirvana*. The *kshayika* and *aupashamika* are the states of holy men, but ordinary good men are in a *kshayopashamika* in which some *karma* is annihilated, some neutral, and some still active. This doctrine has an important bearing on practical Jain ethics. The whole apparatus of monastic conduct is required to prevent the formation of new *karma*, and it is also stopped by austerities (*tapas*) which, moreover, annihilate old *karma* speedily.

Jain ethics has for its end the realisation of *nirvana* or *moksha*, and to attain it the possession of the three jewels of right

faith, knowledge and conduct is essential. Of first importance are the 5 vows (*vratas*), not kill lie, steal, indulge in sexual intercourse, and to rennounce all interest in worldly things, especially to keep no property. These are the 5 great vows (*mahavrata*) taken by every monk on entering the order, or, as it is called taking *diksha*. Laymen should also observe them as far as conditions permit, but if they were to observe all of them they could not go about their business. So they may observe the small vows (*anuvrata*) and refrain from intentionally killing living things for food, pleasure or gain and so on. A layman may, however, take one of the following particular vows (*shilavrata*)—he may limit the distance to which he will go in any direction (*digvirati*); abstain from engaging in anything that does not strictly concern him; set a measure to his food, drink and anything he enjoys, besides avoiding grosser pleasures these 3 vows are called (*gunavrata*); he may also reduce the area in which he may move (*deshavirata*); give up, by sitting motionless and meditating on holy things, all sinful actions at stated times (*samayika*); live as a monk on the 8th, 11th or 15th day of the lunar fortnight at least once a month (*paushadhopavasa*); and provide for monks. These 4 last vows are called *shikshavrata* or disciplinary. Eating by night is forbidden to all Jains, monks or laymen, as are certain kinds of food. The rules for a voluntary death have a similar end in view, *viz.*, to enable laymen to participate in the merits of monastic life without absolutely renouncing the world. Jainism differed from early Buddhism in that it regarded the lay state as preliminary to, and in many cases a preparation for, the monastic life, instead of regarding the laity as outsiders. But in modern times a change seems to have come about in this respect as the monastic order is now recruited chiefly from novices entering it at an early age, not from laymen in general. Nevertheless the principle that the duties of the laity differ only in degree, not in kind, from those of the monks, has contributed greatly to the stability of Jainism. Monastic discipline is elaborate but not as a rule severe or grotesque. In Jain asceticism *yoga* means the activity of body, speech and mind through which *karma* matter pours into the soul and to prevent this *asrava* it is necessary to regulate those activities by the 3 *guptis* or guardings of the mind etc. The monk must also observe the 5 *samities, i.e.* he must be cautious in

walking etc., lest he kill or hurt any living thing. He must avoid vices and endure discomfort and hardship without flinching. The last item in his curriculum is *tapas* or asceticism, but it must be practised in the right way and with right intentions for there are also 'austerities of fools,' *balatapas*, through which temporary or temporal merits, such as supernatural powers, birth as a god etc., may indeed be acquired, but the highest good can never be attained. *Tapas* is one of the most important institutions in Jainism, and it is either external or internal. Among the former austerities fasting is the most conspicuous and it has been developed into a fine art. Its usual form is to eat only one meal every 2nd, 3rd, and 4th day and so on down to half a year. Another form is to starve oneself to death. Other forms of abstinence are also practised and to the same category belong also sitting in secluded spots for meditation and the postures taken up during it. Internal austerities include confession and repentance. Greater sins must be confessed to a superior (*alochana*) and repented of. In less serious cases penance consists in standing erect in a certain position for a given time (*kayotsarga*), but for graver transgressions the superiors prescribe the penance and in the worst cases a new ordination of the guilty monk. Contemplation (*dhiana*) is the most important spiritual exercise. Contemplation may be evil or good and the latter is of two kinds, religious (*dharma*) and pure (*shukla*). The former leads to intuitive cognition not only of religious truths but of other things hidden from common mortals, and the accuracy of knowledge in all kinds of science claimed in the sacred books and later treatises is to be ascribed in great measure to this intuition. Pure contemplation leads through four stages to final emancipation, and at the last stage when the worldly existence is drawing rapidly to its close the remaining *karma* may be suddenly consumed by a kind of explosion called *samudghata*. Then in the last stage all *karma* being annihilated and all activities having ceased the soul leaves the body and ascends to the top of the universe where the liberated souls stay for ever. Pure contemplation however is not by itself a means of attaining liberation but only the last link in a long chain of preparation and only *kevalins*, 'those who have reached omniscience,' can enter into the last two stages which lead directly to liberation. The last man to attain *kevala* was Jambusvamin, the disciple of

Mahavira's disciple Sudharman, and he was liberated on his death. Hence during the rest of the present Avasarpini period nobody will be born who will reach *nirvana* in the same existence though *nirvana* is necessarily preceded by twelve years of self-mortification of the flesh which should be the closing act of a monk's career. The Jains also attach great importance to the doctrine of the fourteen *gunasthanas* or fourteen steps which lead from total ignorance and wrong belief to absolute purity of the soul and final liberation.

The terms *asrava* or pouring in and *samvara* or stoppage are as old as Jainism, and from it the Buddhists must have borrowed the former term. But they use it in a different sense and instead of *asrava* they employ the term *asravakshaya* or 'destruction of the *asrava* for they do not regard the *karma* as subtle matter and deny the existence of a soul into which it could have influx. In Buddhism *samvara* denotes 'restraint,' as in *silasamvara* 'restraint under the moral law.' This seems to prove that Jainism is considerably older than Buddhism.

The monk's outfit is restricted to bare necessities, clothes, a blanket, and alms-bowl, a stick, a broom to sweep the ground, a piece of cloth to cover the mouth when speaking lest insects should enter it. The man's outfit is the same but they have additional clothes. The Digambara uses peacock's feathers instead of a broom. Monks shave the head, or preferably remove the hair by plucking it, a *rite* peculiar to the Jains and necessary at particular times. Originally the monks had to lead a wandering life except during the monsoon which they recessed at one place—compare the Buddhist *vassa*. But this ordinance has been modined owing to the institution of convents, *upashraya*, corresponding to the Buddhist *viharas*. The Svetarnbara as a rule only visit places where there are such *upasrayas* and in them the monks preach to laymen. A monk's duties are arduous, *e.g.*, he should only sleep 3 hours in the night and devote the rest of the day to repentance of sides, study, begging, the removal of insects from his clothes etc. and meditation. When the novice (*shaiksha*) is initiated he takes the vows (*vratadana,*) renounces the world (*pravarajya*) and takes *diksha*. The most important *rite* at his initiation is the shaving or pulling out of the hair under a tree. He may then rise to the degree of *upadhyaya, acharya, vachaka, genin* etc. according to his qualifications and functions as a

teacher and superior.

The Jain cosmography differs widely from that of the Brahmans, especially with regard to the upper spheres or heavens. The world has in time neither beginning nor end. In space the Universe occupies the part called *Lokakasha* as distinguished from the absolute void. It is figured as a spindle resting on half of another, or as a woman with her arms akimbo. Older still is the comparison with a man: the earth's disk is in the lower part of the middle and forms the man's waist, below it are the hells and above it the upper regions. These regions are too numerous to be detailed here, but in the centre of the earth itself towers Mr. Meru, 100,000 *yajanas* high, round which revolve suns, moons and stars. Immediately above its summit begins the three-fold system of heavenly regions called *Vimanas*, the abodes of the Vaimanika gods, which number 26 in all. In Ishatpragbhara, the highest, dwell the souls in liberation.

As the soul by itself has an upward gravity and will, if cleansed of all *karma*, rise in a straight line to this heaven on leaving the body, the Jains permit religious suicide in two cases, though they condemn *balamarana* or 'unwise death' and recommend *panditamarana* or a 'wise death.' In the first case if a Jain contracts a mortal disease or is in danger of certain death he may resort to self-starvation and a monk should do so rather than break the rules of his order or when he cannot sustain the austerities prescribed. In the second a pious layman may go through a regular course of religious life, the phases of which are the 11 standards (*pratima*), the first being observed for one month, the second for two, and so on. In the last standard, which he must observe for 11 months, he becomes practically a monk and at its end abstains from all food and devotes himself to self-mortification, patiently awaiting death which will ensue within a month. In the case of a monk the period of self-mortification lasts 12 years instead of as many months but during it he should try to ward off premature death. At the end of this period he should abstain from all food and the severance of the soul from the body may be brought about by three different methods in two of which the movements of the limbs are restricted.

A system of theology and mythology so rich in ideas naturally produced an equal variety of religious symbolism in art and Jain iconography is as highly developed as Buddhist. But

the subject has not yet been fully studied. Some notes on it are given by Prof. D.R. Bhandarkar, but complete explanations are lacking. It appears however that a *kevalin's* place in heaven is represented on earth by a *samrivasarana*, a shrine with three ramparts, the innermost of gems with battlements of rubies constructed by the Vaimanikas, the second of gold with battlement of gems, constructed by the Jyotiskas or gods of Sun, Moon, star etc. and the outer of silver with battlements of gold, built by Bhavanapatis. All the elaborate architecture and art lavished on such a building have their meanings, as have the processional entries and ritual. Animals, it should be noted appear to be admitted to the shrine, though not to its inmost rampart. The whole picture of such a shrine drawn in the manuals used by Jain artists is an extraordinarily comprehensive one of all nature joining in the worship of one who has attained to perfect knowledge and listening to his teaching.

The doctrine of *karma* lent itself equally to the construction of countless tales which pointed a moral, inculcating reverence for life in all its forms and the need for self-purification. These tales were embodied in stone reliefs whose interpretation is being slowly worked out by the aid of such Jain scriptures as the *Tirthukalpa* just as the Buddhist sculptures are being translated with the help of the *Jatakas* The story of the princess who was born a kite for the slaughter of a snake resembling a fowl but was reborn as a princess as a reward for her kindness to a tired Jaina nun in her last incarnation but one will be found in an article on *Jaina Iconography* by Prof. Bhandarkar.

The History of the Jain Sects

Like Buddhism Jainism will have to be studied in its sects. Quite apart from the various schools and orders into which it has been divided it has been rent by no less than eight schisms (*nihvama*) according to the Svetambaras. Of these the first was originated by Mahavira's son-in-law Jamali and the last in 83 A.D. gave rise to the Digambara sect. But the last-named know nothing of the earlier schisms and say that under Bhadrabahu rose the Ardhaphalaka sect which in 80 A.D. developed into the Svetambara sect. This is the more remarkable in that doctrinal differences are not acute. The Digambaras hold that *kevalins*, such as the Tirthankaras, live without food, that Mahavira's

embryo was not removed from Devananda's womb to that of Trishala, that a monk who owns any property, even clothes, and a woman, cannot reach *nirvana*. While the Digambaras disown the canonical books of the Svetambaras, holding that they were lost after Mahavira's *nirvana*, they recognise one at least of the most authoritative Svetambara *sutras*. Nevertheless in consequence of their early separation they have an ecclesiastical as well as literary history of their own and their religious ceremonies especially in regard to the laity differ from those of their rivals. With them their list of the patriarches only agrees in respect of the 1st, Jambu, and the 6th Bhadrabahu. The latter, they say, migrated to the south at the head of the true monks and from him dates the loss of their sacred literature. According to their modern tradition the main church (*mulasangha*) split into four *ganas*—Nandi, Sena, Simha and Deva—about the close of the 1st century A.D.

The list of Svetambara patriarches begins with Mahavira's disciple Sudharman and ends with the 33rd, Sandilya or Skandila. In some cases the names of the disciples of each patriarch, and of the schools and branches (or orders) styled *gana, kula* or *shakha*, founded by or originating with him are preserved. After the 6th, Bhadrabhau, a great expansion of Jainism took place in the north and north-west of India. In later times *gachchas* or schools were founded by individual teachers, theoretically 84 in number and differing only in minute details of conduct. Of these the most important is the Kharatara which has split up into many minor *gachchas*, the Tapa, Anchela & c, and the most interesting is the Upakesa *gachcha*, 'known as the Oswal Jains,' who begin their descent from Parsva, Mahavira's predecessor. Down to the 9th century A.D. much uncertainty prevails as to Jain history and the legend that the first patron king of the sect wast Asoka's grandson Samprati is very doubtful.

Notes and References

1. A Jina or Tirthankara, according to Jaina belief, is one who has attained omniscience and freedom not by the help of a teacher nor by the revelation of the *Vedas* but by his own power. He is also given many other epithets, like Mahavira, Sarvajna, Kevalin and

Arhat, etc. indicating the ideas entertained about him by his votaries.

The twenty-four Jinas or Tirthankaras are Rishabha, Ajita, Sambhava, Abhinandana, Sumati, Padmaprabha, Suparsva, Chandraprabha, Pushpadanta or Suvidhi, Sitala, Sreyamsa, Vasupujya, Vimala, Ananta, Dharma, Santi, Kunthu, Ara, Malli, Munisuvrata, Nimi, Nemi or Arishtanemi, Parsvanatha and Vardhamana Mahavira.

2. B.C. Bhattacharya, *The Jaina Iconography*, p. 81.
3. Rhys Davids, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9th edition, Vol. XII, p. 543.
4. M. Bloomfield. *The Life and Stories of the Jaina Saviour, Parsvanatha.*
5. Lecture XXIII, *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XLV; *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 1, p. 264.
6. *Uttaradhyaansutra*, Lecture xiii, *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XLV.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. xxii, xxiii.
8. *Samannaphala Sutra-Vannana* in the *Sumangala-vilasini, Buddhaghosha's* Commentary on the *Digha-Nikaya* (Pali Text Society's Edition), pp. 160-65,
9. *Majihima Nikaya* (of the Pali Text Society's Edition, p. 250.
10. Belonging to the Nata Clan of Vaishali Vardhamana is called a *Nataputta, Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXII, p. xvi.
11. *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Feb. 1898, p. 40 ff.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 40.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Mahavira was thus not the propounder of the Jaina religion. He was a monk who espoused the Jaina creed and brought about a reformation in the Jaina church. He may be called in one sense the first schism-maker in the Jaina church inasmuch as he seceded from Parsva's order.
15. *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXII, pp. xv-xvi ff; *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 1890, 40 ff.
16. The present chapter contains a detailed description of Mahavira's church-organisation.
17. *Avasyakasutra*, p. 689.
18. Hemchandra's *Parisishtaparva* Canto VI, v. 181. See also p. xii.
19. See p. 153 of the present treatise.
20. *Avasyakasutra*, p. 692.
21. Narsimhachar, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Introduction, p. 41; Lewis Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 8.
22. Hultzsch, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I. p. 136.
23. Hemchandra. *Parisishtaparva* Canto XI, xv. 63-102.
24. There is a good deal of difference of opinion among scholars regarding the date of Kharavela. Jayaswal assigns him to the first

half of the second century B.C. and holds that he was a contemporary of Pushyamitra Sunga. (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XX, pp. 75-6). According to H.C. Raychaudhury, Kharavela is to be assigned either to the third century B.C. or the first century B.C. and in no case could be a contemporary of Pushyamitra Sunga (*Political History of Ancient India*, 4th Ed., pp. 314-15). In the opinion of Rapson, Kharavela belongs in any case to almost the middle of the second century B.C. (*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 535), These differences of opinion regarding the date of Kharavela would hardly affect our main conclusion as our task is to give the history of Jainism in Kalinga in the post-Mauryan period (c. 185 B.C.-300 A.D.)

25. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XX, p. 79.
26. *Namo arhihantanam namo Siddanam/Namo ayariyanam namo uvajhayanam/Namo loesavva sahunam*. Compare the Buddhist formula of *vandana* in the *Petakopadesa*: *Namo Sammasambuddhanam paramattha dassinahm siddhanam paramippattanam," Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIV, p. 462.
27. *Archaeological Survey Reports*, XX, pl. v. No. 6: Namo Arhata Vardhamanasa, Luders List No. 59.
28. M (agadha) (m) cha rajanam Baha (sa) timitam padevamdapayati Nanda-rajanitam cha Ka (li) mga-jinam samnive (sa) *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XX, p. 80). Dr Barua reads this portion thus: *Ma (gadham; cha rajanam Baha (sa) timita (m) pade va (m) dupa(ya) ti, Nandaraja-Jita Kalinga-jana-sam (n) i(ve) sam*. Kharavela, compelled Brihaspatimitra, the king of the Magadha people, to bow down at his feet (did something in connection with) the settlements of Kalinga people subjugated by king Nanda (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, XIV, p. 480).
29. R.D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. i, p. 61.
30. *Avasyakasutra*, pp. 219-20.
31. B.M. Barua, *Old Brahmi Inscription in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves*, pp. 292 ff.
32. Manmohan Ganguly, *Orissa and Her Remains—Ancient and Mediaeval*, p. 32.
33. *Bengal District Gazetteer*, Puri, p. 24.
34. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XX, p. 72. On the wall of the Hathigumpha Cave there were a number of medieval records (10th-11th century) consisting mostly of the proper names which shows that the pilgrims regarded this place as a sacred spot as late as the 11th century A.D.
35. *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, pp. 72, 80 Dr. Burua translates this portion of the text as "On the Kumari Hill in the well founded realm of victory"

(*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIV, p. 480).

36. *Ibid*, Vol. XX, LL. 14 and 15, p. 80.
37. *Terasame cha vase Supavata vijaya chaka Kumaripavate arahayate pakhina-sam (si) tehi Kdyanisidiydya Yapannaakehi rajabhitini Chinavatdni (sa) s (i)* idni (*Ibid*., Vol. XX, p. 80).
38. Premi, *Vidvatnamala*, i. p. 132; Maliyapundi grant of Chalukya King Ammaraja II (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX, p. 54; *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XII. p. 20) According to the inscriptional evidence the Yapakas were a part of the pure Nandigachha community (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX, p. 54).
39. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Patna; Vol. IV, p. 398.
40. *Puj-anurrata-uvas (aga) Kharavela sirina Jiva-deha (siri) ka parikhita* (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XX, p. 80).
41. S.N. Das Gupta. *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 188.
42. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XX, p. 79.
43. *Ibid*., Vol. XX, p. 77.
44. J.L. Jaini, *Gommatasara*, Introduction, p. 12.
45. Barua, *Old Brahmi Inscription, etc*., p. 263.
46. Barua, *op., cit*., p. 263.
47. The upper storey of the Manchapuri cave is popularly known as Svargapuri. It has been referred to by R.L. Mitra and Fergusson as Vaikunthapuri Cave.
48. Barua, *op. cit*., p. 57, see also f. no. I, p. 57
49. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIV, pp. 160-66; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIII, p. 159 f.
50. This title in its Greek and Indian form was adopted by the Saka kings of the Punjab, Maues and his successors who belong to the first century B.C., and it appears in the form Shaonano Shao on the coins of Kushana rulers. This shows that the Kalaka story has a historical background.
51. Sten Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II, p. XXVII; Smith, *Oxford History of India*, 1919, p. 151; Edgerton, *Vikrama's Adventure* (Jainistic Recension), Part I, p. Lvii, ff.
52. The *Puranas* refer to the Gardabhillas and make them precede the Sakas, Pargiter, *Dynasties of Kali Age*, p. 45; N. Brown, *The Story of Kalika* p. 6.
53. Edgerton, *Vikrama Charita*, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 26, pp. 26, 251-254; Vol. 27, p. 233 ff.
54. Pattavalis of Kharataragachcha, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI, 1882, p. 247.
55. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI, p. 245 ff.
56. *Ibid*.
57. *Ibid*., p. 251.

58. Jhaveri, *Nirvanakalika*, Introduction, p. xi ff.
59. *Samyktvasaptati*, vv. 96, 97, quoted in the Mysore Archaeological Report, 1923, pp. 10-11.
60. *Ibid., Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1923, p. 11.
61. H.D. Sankalia, *Archaeology of Gujarat*, Bombay, 1941, p. 41.
62. U.P. Shah, *Studies in Jain Art*, 1955, p. 10.
63. *Epigrphia Carnatica*, Vol. II, edited by R. Narasimhachar, 1923, pp. 85, 87, Introduction, 64 (40), p. 13; Lewis Rice, *Mysore and Corg*, p. 104.
64. A.N. Upadhyay, *Pravachanasara*, pp. XXIV ff; Faddegon, *Pravachanasara of Kundakunda*, pp. XIX ff.
65. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, 1923, pp. 85, 87.
66. *Indian Culture*, Vol. VII, no. I, p. 41.
67. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Inscriptions of Sravana Belgola, Index.
68. Hoernle, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XX, pp. 341-61, XXI, pp. 57-84.
69. *Indian Culture*, Vol. VII, No. 1, p. 43; Fuddegon, *Pravachanasara of Kundakunda*, pp. XIV-XV.
70. *Indian Culture*, Vol. VII, p. 43.
71. *Indian Culture*, Vol. VII, No. 1, p. 43.
72. H.L. Jain, *Jaina Silalekha Samgraha*, Part 1, No. 54, p. 102.
73. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura*, p. 11.
74. *Ibid.*
75. *Ibid.*
76. V.A. Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 2.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
78. *Ibid.*, pp. 2-4.
79. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 195.
80. *Ibid.*, Vol. 11, p. 396.
81. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 199.
82. V.A. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
84. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 204.
85. *Ibid.*
86. A.A. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13. A legendary account of this stupa is found also in the *Yasatilaka Champu of Somadevasuri*, Vol. 11, p. 315, *Jaina Antiquary*, Vol. VIII.
87. V.A. Smith *op. cit.*, p. 13.
88. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 204.
89. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, pp. 235 ff.
90. "Right knowledge is in fact knowledge of the Jaina creed" (Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 245). "By right faith a Jaina understands the full surrender of himself to the teacher, the jina, the firm conviction that he alone has found the way of salvation

and only with him is the protection and refuge to be found." Buhler, *Indian Sects of the Jainas*, p. 5.

91. Hoernle, *Uvasago Dasao; Stevenson, Heart of Jainism*, p. 25 ff.
92. *Ibid.*, p. 218.
93. *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXII, p. 292 ff; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 1, pp. 371-97; Vol. II, pp. 195-212, 311.
94. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 1, No. 11.
95. *Ibid.*, No. XI.
96. *Ibid.*, No. VII.
97. *Ibid.*, No. XI.
98. *Ibid.*, No. XIV.
99. There is only one instance in Mathura in which a nun acts as a guide to a monk. In the inscription No VII, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 1, pp. 385-6, we find that Kumaramita induces her son Kumarabhati to make a gift of the image of Vardhamana. Kumarmita seems to have become a nun after the death of her husband as she is shown as having a son. The existence of Jaina nuns and lay women in Mathura can be traced also from another Mathura inscription which Cunningham describes in the *Archaeological Survey Reports*, XX, p. 37, pl. V, No. 6. The inscription contains the expression *Chaturvarna Sangha* which implies the *Chaturvidha Sangha* of the Svetambaras consisting of monks, nuns, lay men and lay women.
100. *Luders List*, No. 24, 41.
101. *Ibid.*, No. 48.
102. *Ibid.*, Nos. 29, 53 and 54.
103. *Ibid.*, No. 30.
104. *Ibid.*, Nos. 39, 68, 76.
105. *Ibid.*, No. 32.
106. *Ibid.*, No. 102.
107. Dr. Ernst Leuman, *Das Aupaptikasutra*, p. 61.
108. *Bhagavatisutra*, 9, 33, 383-7. Gosala left Mahavira before he attained Jinahood. Gosala's desertion cannot be called a schism strictly, though it shook to some extent the prestige and integrity of the Jaina Church for the time being.
109. *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 165.
110. *Ibid.*, p. 166.
111. *Darsanasara of Devasena* (ed. by Premi), vv. 11. 13.
112. *Avasyakasutra*, p. 324; Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 79.
113. *Avasyakasutra*, p. 323.
114. Hoernle, *Uvasaga Dasao*, p. IX.
115. See Jacobi's Introduction to the translation of the *Acharanga Sutra Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXII.
116. *Luders List*, No. 22. Samvat 9.

117. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 382 ff. It is not necessary to look upon the admission of nuns among the Svetambaras as an imitation of Buddhist teachings, for women were admitted into some of the Brahmanical orders also (Buhler, *Indian Sect of the Jainas*, p. 4). See also *Sacred Books of the East*, XXV, p. 317.
118. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 79; *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXVII, p. 84.
119. Stevenson, *op. cit.*, p. 69.
120. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. III, Part IV, p. 458.
121. C. J. Shah, *op. cit.*, p. 129.
122. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, 1937, pp. 130-32.
123. *Arthasastra*, Mysore Oriental Series, p. 61.
124. C.J. Shah, *op. cit.*, p. 152.
125. *Puri, Bengal District Gazetteer*, p. 254.
126. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 11; V.A. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3.
127. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
128. *Ibid.*, pp. 42-3.
129. V.A. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 46; *Epigraphia Indiaca* Vol. 1, p. 382, No. 11.
130. V.A. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
131. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 210.
132. V.A. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 55, pl cvxiii.
133. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 67.
134. V.A. Smith, *op. cit.*, pl. vi.
135. *Ibid.*, pl. XVII.
136. Vogel, *op. cit.*, pp. 77, 81.
137. *Antagada Dasao* (Oriental Translation Fund), pp. 61-2.
138. V.A. Smith, *op. cit.*, pl. XVII, p. 24.
139. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
140. Vogel, *op. cit.*, B. 70.
141. *Ibid.*, B. 71.
142. V.A. Smith *op. cit.*, p. 49, pl XCI, right hand figure.
143. *Ibid.*
144. *Ibid.*, p. 49, pl. XCI, left hand figure.
145. *Ibid.*, p. 25, pl XVIII.
146. *Ibid.*
147. *Ibid.*
148. *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol. XX, p. 36, pl IV, figs. 2-5.
149. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 314.
150. *Antagada Dasao* (Oriental Translation Fund), pp. 36 and 37.
151. V.S.A. Agarwala, *Hand Book of the Sculptures of the Curzon Museum, Mathura.*
152. V.A. Smith *op. cit.*, pl. XCIX, left hand figure.

153. *Ibid.*, right hand figure.
154. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
155. *Ibid.*, pls. XXVIII, LXXI, LXXII, LXXIV and LXXV.
156. H.K. Prasad, *'Jaina Bronzes in the Patna Museum,' Shri Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya* Bombay, pp. 276 ff.
157. *Ibid.*
158. *Ibid.*

7

Sikhism

I

Life of Nanak—Nanak, the founder of the Sikh faith, was the son of Kalu Chand, a Khatri of the Bedi section, and was born at Talwandi, a village on the Ravi not from Lahore, on the full moon day in Katak Sambat 1526, or 14 years earlier. His father was a simple peasant, employed by Rai Bhoe, a Muhammedan Rajput of the Bhatti tribe, the owner of the village, as an appraiser of produce. His mother's name was Tripta.

When only 5 years old the sister of Nanak's mother, Bibi Lakho, came to see her sister and observing the boy's indifference to wordly things said to her: 'Thy son is soft headed.' Nanak rejoined: Thine will be four times as soft headed; thus predicting the birth of the famous saint Baba Ram Thamman whose shrine is at the place of that name near Kasur.

Of Nanak's life few authentic details have come down to us, and these are contained in a *janmsakhi* or biography, assigned by Trumpp to the latter years of Guru Arjan or his immediate successors. This work refers to hymns in the *Granth Sahib* and must therefore have been compiled after it. Mohsan-i-Fani appears to refer to separate stories which even in his time were not collected in one work. This biography contains few of the miracles and other incidents found in the later *janmsakhis*, and as it is and early record of Nanak's life and teaching it may be

regarded as authentic in all material points.

As a child Nanak was devoted to meditation on God, and at the age of 7 he was sent to the Hindu village school, where he composed the 35 verses of the *Patti* in the Rag Asa of the *Granth* Here Nanak received all his secular instruction, for he was early employed by his father as a buffalo-herd.

In due course he married and two sons were born to him, but this did not prevent his leading a life remote from thoughts of this world and his superhuman character was revealed to Rai Bular, the son of Rai Bhoe, who found him one day sleeping beneath a tree whose shadow had stood still to shelter him, while those of the other trees had moved, with the waning non.

Nanak showed no bent for any worldly vocation, but delighted in the society of saints and even wandering *faqirs*, and at last his father in despair sent him to Sultanpur, a town now in the Kapurthala State, where his brother-in-law Jairam, husband of his sister, Nanaki, was employed as a factor to Nawab Daulat Khan the Lodi, who after his long governorship of the Punjab called in Babar to aid him against his master's injustice.

At Sultanpur Nanak devoted himself to his duties, but his wife and children remained at Talwandi. His wife however rejoined him after his travels and lived with him till his death. There too he was joined by an old acquaintance, Mardana the Dum, an itinerant musician, who accompanied his improvised hymns on his *rabab* or harp.)

At Sultanpur too Nanak was destined to receive that definite call to the office of religious leader to which he owes his title of *Guru*. While bathing one day in the canal he was taken up by angels and transported into the presence of God who gave him a goblet of nectar with the command to spread the fame of God (*Hari*) through the world. Meanwhile his servant had carried home the news of his disappearance in the water, and the Khan had actually set fishermen to drag the canal for his body, when he re-appeared.

After this event Guru Nanak took the decisive step of distributing all that he had among the poor and accompanied by Mardana he left his house and began to preach. In popular phrase he turned *faqir*. His first pronouncement There is no Hindu and no Mussalman' led to his being cited, at the Qazi's instance, to appear before the Nawab, who invited him to

accompany him to the mosque. Nanak did so—and while the Qazi led the prayers, he laughed. To the Qazi's remonstrances he replied that the latter had left a foal in his own courtyard and had throughout the prayers been anxious lest it should fall into the well. Amazed at Nanak's power of reading his thoughts the Qazi fell at his feet and acknowledged his power.

After this incident Nanak set out on what are often called his five pilgrimages, thus beginning his mission to call the people to the right path. The first lay eastward, to the shrine of Shaikh Sajan who had built a temple for Hindus and a mosque for Muhammedans—a proof of the religious toleration in fashion at this period of Indian history. But the Shaikh was given to murdering those who put up with him in his shop and stealing their property, until the Guru saw through him and made him become a repentant follower of his teaching. Tradition also takes Nanak to Delhi, where he restored a dead elephant to life and interviewed the Mughal emperor. Besides Shaikh Sajan he encountered many other *thags*, whom the converted. At the sack of Sayyidpur he was captured by Babar's troops and carried off, but coming under Babar's own notice he was honourably used and set at liberty.

But he soon set out on his second or southward pilgrimage. That he ever reached Ceylon or formed there a *sangat* (congregation) of his disciples is hardly probable, and if he did so few authentic details of this journey have been preserved.

At Sialkot he heard that Hamza Ghaus was undergoing a 40 days' fast in order to acquire power to destroy the town, so he sat under a plum (*ber*) tree and called thrice to the *faqir*. Receiving no reply he stood up and gazed at the lofty tower in a vault of which the *faqir* had shut himself, and burst open its walls so that the sun fell on the face of the recluse. This saint had promised sons to a Khatri of the town in return for a promise that the first-born should become his disciple and as the vow was broken had condemned all the inhabitants to annihilation. The Guru impressed on him the injustice of punishing all for the faults of a few. The Ber Baba Nanak still commemorates this incident.

On his 3rd tour the Guru who was returning from Russia and Turkistan reached Hussan Abdal in 1520. On the top of the hill was a spring of water. Its summit was occupied by Wali

Qandhari, a Muhammedan saint, who grew jealous of the Guru and refused to let Mardana draw water from it so the spring dried up and re-appeared at the spot where the Guru had halted. The Wali cast a huge rock down from the hill upon it, but the guru stopped the rock with his hand, leaving an impression of it on the hill-side. Thence he continued his tour through Sialkot and witnessed the sack of Saidpur, near Eminabad, which he had foretold.

Again Nanak returned to Talwandi, but only to make thence his third pilgrimage northwards into Kashmir, where he climbed Mount Sumera and had a lengthy discussion with the chief of the *Jogis* and according to some accounts with Shiva himself.

His fourth pilgrimage was to the West to Mecca, where he lay down and by chance turned his feet towards the Ka'aba. When reproached for this by the Qazi, Rukn-ud-Din, he challenged him to lay his feet in any direction where God's house did not lie, and wherever the Qazi turned Nanak's feet, there appeared the Ka'aba.

Guru Nanak's fifth and last pilgrimage may be regarded as purely allegorical. He went to Gorakh-hatri where he discoursed with the 84 Siddhs, or disciples of Gorakh Nath. A temple exists at Nanakmata in the Kumaon or Naini Tal Tarai, about 10 miles from Khatima, a station on the Rohilkhand Kumaon Railway. Not far from this place are still to be found several *maths* of *yogis*, from one of which sweet soap-nuts (*mitha retha*) are obtained by the *mahant* at Nanakmata. Two such trees are known in the Almora district; one at the place called the *Gulia ritha* by the hillmen, the other on the road from Lahughat to Dhunnaghat. It appears that where new shoots spring from old decayed trunks, the fruit they bear loses its bitterness. Gorakh-hatri may be the name of some *math* of *yogis* in these hills. 'It was also, observes S. Gurbakhsh Bakhsh, 'the name of a well-known *math* at the Indian end of the Khaibar Pass, about two stages from Peshawar. Babar, who went twice to visit the place, gives an account of it and describes it as a well-frequenced place to which Hindus came from distant places and went through the ceremony of shaving themselves clean. Several low underground cells, entry to which was obtained by crawling along on all fours, and immense heaps of hair marked the place.' This seems to be the well-known Gor-Khatri at Peshawar. Other authorities say that

this the Guru's last pilgrimage was to the East and that it took him to Gorakhmata or Nanakmata.

Other accounts give more detailed and less ambitious accounts of the pilgrimages. On his first the Guru visited Eminabad where he meditated on a bed of pebbles (*ror*) where the Rori Sahib now stands. Here he composed a hymn in which he reproached the Khatris for subsisting on alms wrung from the people and expounded the merits of earning a livelihood by honest labour.

Nanak went to several other places also. At Haridwar he pointed out to the Hindus the hollowness of sending water to their forefathers. At Kurukshetra he proved the uselessness of such vain beliefs as not eating meet at an eclipse. At Jagannath he pointed out the right way to worship God and said that it did not consist in lighting lamps and so on. Among the other countries that he visited were Kabul, Baghdad etc. But this pilgrimage is rejected altogether by the reforming Sikhs.

Nanak died at Kartarpur on the banks of the Ravi in the Jullundur District in the house of his family, with whom he appear to have been reconciled. Before his death he transmitted his Guruship to Lahna, surnamed Angad, the second Guru, by a strikingly simple ceremony. Nanak laid five pice before Angad and fell at his feet. This event occurred in 1537 A.D.

The successive Gurus transmitted their office by this *rite*, but later on a coconut was also laid before the successor thus appointed. Guru Nanak also went four times round his successor and then said that his own spirit had gone into his body so that he was from that moment to be regarded as Nanak himself. It is now a common Sikh belief that each Guru inherited the spiritual light of Nanak and the doctrine is as old as Mohsin-ul-Fani.

Bhai Budha, a Jat, affixed the *tilak* or coronation mark on Angad's forehead and survived to witness the installation of on less than four of Angad's successors. Tradition says that while very young he came to Nanak and referring to the devastation of the unripe crops wrought by Babar's troops said that he was afraid of being untimely carried away by the angel of death. Nanak replied: 'Thou art old (Budha) not young.' So he was named Bhai Budha and lived till 1627. The significance of the *tilak* is well known. It is often if not generally affixed by a

dominant or autochthonous agricultural class and in his instance the choice of Bhai Budha represented the Jat recognition of the Guru's chiefship. To his sons' protests against their father's choice of Angad, Guru Nanak replied that not even the Guru's dogs suffered want, and that they should have clothes and food enough. In accord, probably, with this tradition, we find the Nanakputra or descendants of Nanak employed towards the close of the Sikh period in *banda-bhara*, a practice whereby traders entrusted goods to a Nanakputra who engaged to convey them for a stipulated sum from Jagadhri to Amritsar, then the emporium of the Sikh States, paying all duties. The Nanakputras, from the sanctity which attaches to their persons, engaged enjoined certain exemptions and were less subject to molestation from custom-officers' importunity than others.

Nanak's attitude to Islam is illustrated by several incidents in the above sketch of his life. To these the latter *janmsakhis* make many additions, which at least record the traditional attitude of the earlier Sikhism to Islam. Thus immediately after Nanak's election for a spiritual life he is said to have been visited by Khwaja Khizr, the Muhammedan saint, who taught him all earthly knowledge.

The traditional account of Guru Nanak's funeral also records his attitude towards the two religions. When the Hindus and the Muhammedans both claimed his body he bade them lay flowers on either side of it, for Hindus on the right and for Muhammedans on the left, bidding them see whose flowers remained fresh till the following day. But next morning both lots of flowers were found fresh, while the body had vanished, signifying that it belonged to neither, yet equally to both the creeds. Nanak expressed his religious thought in verses, composed in Punjabi, which form no insignificant part of the *Granth*. Nanak was absorbed to use the Sikh phrase, on the 10th of October, 1538 (the 10th of the light half of Asauj, Sambat 1596).

His successor, Guru Angad, was a Khatri of the Trihun section, who had fulfilled the Guru's ideal of unquestioning obedience to his will. Though perhaps illiterate, the invention of the Gurmukhi alphabet in 1533 is ascribed to Guru Angad and he also had much of what he had learnt about Nanak from Bala, the Sindhu Jat, a disciple of that Guru, reduced to writing.

He himself however composed a few verses which are

preserved in the *Granth*. He earned his living by twisting the coarse twine made of *munj*, thus following Nanak's teaching about alms. His death occurred in 1552 or 1553 at Khadur near Govindwal on the Bias, where he dwelt in seclusion since his accession to the Gurushipp. He had appointed his follower Amar Das, A Khatri of the Bhalla section, to succeed him, passing over his own sons as unworthy.

Guru Amar Das resided at Govindwal whence he sent out 22 of his numerous disciples to various parts of the country to preach, dividing it into as many *manjas* or dioceses. He also built Kajarawal. But his most important act was the separation of the positive recluses of the udasi order from the active lay Sikhs, thus giving the latter body something of a social character in addition to the religious ties which held it together. He organised and maintained a public refectory (*langar*) at which all the four castes ate together and no question was raised as to whether the food had been cooked by a Brahman or a low caste Sikh. Before his accession he had been a Vaishnava, and after it he built at Govindwal the grand *baoli* or oblong well with its 84 steps and lading places. It is a general belief among the Sikhs that whoever bathes on these steps one by one on the same day repeating the *japji* with sincerity to the last step shall be saved from the 8,400,000 transmigratory forms and go direct to heaven. Guru Amar Das also pronounced against the Brahmanical *rite* of *sati*, reformed the ceremonies in vogue at marriage and death, forbade pilgrimages and the like, and added largely to the poetical literature of the Sikhs. His verses in the *Granth* are distinguished for simplicity and clearness. Guru Amar Das left two sons Mohan and Mohari, but bestowed the *barkat* or apostolic virtue upon Ram Das, his son-in-law, as a reward for his daughter's filial love and obedience as well as the worth of Ram Das himself.

Ram Das succeeded as Guru in 1574. He was also a Khatri of the Sodhi section, which has played so pre-eminent a part in Sikhism. Guru Amar Das is said to have found an attentive listner in Akbar, but Ram Das entered into still closer relations with that tolerant emperor, and is said to have received from him the grant of a piece of land whereon he founded Ramdaspur, subsequently known as Amritsar, or the 'pool of salvation' from the ancient tank which lay in it, and which he

repaired and enlarged. According to some authorities he also built in its midst the Harimandar, or temple of God (*Hari*), in which no idols were set up.

Guru Ram Das' poetical contributions to the *Granth* are clear and easy to understand, reproducing the traditional circle of Sikh thought as enunciated by the earlier Gurus.

This, the fourth Guru, was succeeded by Arjan, his youngest son, and henceforth the office becomes hereditary in the Sodhi section. Moreover with the accession of Arjan on the 3rd Badon *sudi* 1580, according to the oldest known record, the Sikh community enters on a new phase. He laid aside the rosary and garb of a *faqir* and dressed in costly raiment. Though not it is sometimes said, a Sanskrit scholar, Guru Arjan was a man of considerable literary attainments and nearly half the *Adi Granth* was composed by him.

He also collected the hymns of his predecessors and adding to them selections from the writings of the earlier reformers, Kabir, Namdeo, Ravi Das, and others, compiled the *Granth* or 'Book' of the Sikh commonwealth. A decalogue of ten commandments ascribed to this, the fifth Guru, has recently been discovered in Eastern Bengal. It is naturally very like the Mosaic, but one of the manuscripts indicates that the Sikhs were being bocotted and found it difficult to marry.

But Arjan's activity was not confined to spiritual affairs. Hitherto the Gurus had lived on their own earnings like Angad, or on the voluntary offerings of their followers though these seem to have been in the main earmarked to charitable purposes by Amar Das, but Guru Arjan established the beginnings of a fiscal system, appointing collectors, called *masands*, to each of whom was assigned a definite district. Their deputies were called *meoras*, a term borrowed from Akbar's system. These appointments indicated an attempt at regular administration. Some writers hint that the 22 sees or *manjas* of Guru Amar Das became the 22 fiscal units of Guru Arjan. If this was so the change is significant of the gradual transformation of Sikhism even at that early stage. But disciples were also sent to Kabul, Kandhar, Sindh and even Turkistan not only to spread the Sikh faith but also for purposes of trade. He also permitted himself to be addressed as *sacha padshah* or 'true king,' 'Sodhi Sultan,' the Sodhi Sultan. Apparently he obtained this title in consequence of

the dignities bestowed on him for his services against Nalagarh. He continued Nanak's policy of toleration for and good relations with the Muhammedans, for the famous saint Mian Mir was a great friend of his and the happening to visit the Guru at this time he was asked to lay foundation stone of the Harmandar in 1589. But it was not well and truly laid and though the mason righted it the Guru prophesied that the temple would fall down and have to be rebuilt. In 1590 he founded Tarn Taran.

Guru Arjan's chief opponent was Chandu Lal a *diwan* or finance minister of Akbar, whose daughter the Guru refused to accept for his son Har Govind. This led to an enmity which had dire results. Chandu lal denounced the Guru to the emperor as an enemy of Islam and though Akbar himself was not induced to persecute the Guru—on the contrary he honoured him in various ways and an account of Akbar's visiting Guru Arjan at his home and remitting and land revenue on a famine-stricken area at his request is given in the *Soirul mutakharin*—Chandu Lal's hostility pre-disposed his successor Jahangir against him. It was he who informed that emperor of the Guru's loan of Rs. 5000 to Prince Khusru. Indeed the *Dabistan*, which contains the most probable account of Guru Arjan's death, says he was accused, like many other Punjab notables, of actual participation in Prince Khusru's rebellion. It is certain that he was condemned by Jahangir to a heavy fine. Unable or unwilling to pay the sum demanded he was exposed of the sun's rays and perished of exhaustion in 1606.

Arjan's son Har Govind succeeded to the Guruship. He wore two swords typifying *amiri* or secular and *faqiri* or spiritual authority, and he was the first Guru to take up arms against the Muhammedans to whom he certainly ascribed his father's death, whatever the precise circumstances may have been. He built the stronghold of Hargovindpur on the upper reaches of the Beas, and thence harried the plains. To his standard flocked many whom want and misgovernment had driven from their homes. But at last Guru Har Govind fell into the hands of the imperial troops, and Jahangir kept him prisoner at Gwalior for 12 years, until in 1628, on that emperor's death, he obtained his freedom by sacrificing his treasures. Returning to Kiratpur the Guru renewed his attack on the Muhammedan land-owners and imperial officials of the plains. One of his last exploits was an

expedition to Nanakmata, in the Tarai near Naini Tal, whose *faqir* Almast the Udasi, complained that he had been expelled from his shrine by the *Jogis*, who had also burnt the *pipal* tree under which Guru Nanak had held debate with the followers of Gorakh Nath. This or another Almast had been deputed by this, the sixth Guru, to Shujatpur near Dacca and had there founded *sangat*. This *sangat* at Shujatpur was called after the Guru restored him to this shrine and returned to Kiratpur through Aligarh, Delhi and Karnal. This life of active military enterprise, lightened at intervals by sport, absorbed all Har Govind's energies and he contributed nothing to the *Granth*.

But interesting stories are recorded of his version to the ostentatious or undue exercise of spiritual power. Baba Gurditta, his eldest son, had restored to life a cow accidentally killed by a Sikh. The Guru rebuked him for this uncontrolled exhibition of spiritual force and the Baba went to the tomb of Budhan Shah, a Muhammedan *faqir*, where he lay down and gave up his soul. Similarly, Atal Rai, his fourth son, as a boy of 9 restored to life a playmate who had died of snake-bite and he too when reproached by the Guru for vying with the giver and taker of life by exercising miraculous power over death covered himself with a sheet and breathed his last. His tomb is close to the Kaulsar at Amritsar and is the highest building in that town.

Guru Har Govind was known also as the Chhatwan Badshah or 6th king among the Sikhs and so offerings of *karah parshad* are made at the Darbar Sahib at Lahore on the 6th of every month and the building is illuminated.

On his death at Kiratpur in 1645 his grandson Har Rai succeeded him. Of this Guru we have an account by the author of the *Dabistan*, who knew him personally. Less warlike than his grandfather, Guru Har Rai still maintained the pomp and circumstances of a semi-independent military chieftain. His bodyguard consisted of 300 cavalry with 60 musquteers, and 800 horses were stalled in his stables. His alliance was successfully sought by another rebellious scion of the Mughal house, Dara Shikoh, who soon perished. Thereupon the Guru retreated to Kiratpur whence he sent his son Ram Rai to Delhi to negotiate pardon. Aurangzeb received the young envoy graciously, but detained him as a hostage for his father's loyalty. Har Rai contributed not a single verse to the Sikh scripture. Dying in

1661 at Kiratpur he left his office to his second son Har Kishan, the 8th Guru, and as yet a minor. Ram Rai, still a hostage, appealed to Aurangzeb, who seized the pretext for interference in the Guru's domestic affairs and summoned Har Kishan to Delhi. There he died of small-pox, after declaring that the Sikhs would find the next Guru in Bakala, a village on the Beas. Disputes regarding the succession inevitably arose and some of the Sodhis set up a Guru of their own while Ram Rai urged his claims in reliance on imperial support. This, however, only alienated his own followers, and despairing of success he retreated to Dehru Dun, where he founded a sect of his own.

At length in 1664 Teg Bahadur obtained recognition as the 9th Guru. Teg Bahadur was a great figure among the Sikhs. From his birth he was destined to be a scourge to his enemies, and foreseeing this his father named him Teg Bahadur. His personal likeness to Baba Nanak was also striking. Nevertheless his recognition was keenly contested by Dhir Mal, the elder son of Gurditta, the Udasi, and Teg Bahadur was driven to seek refuge on a piece of land which he purchased from the Kahlur Raja. Here in 1665 he founded Anandpur. Still harassed by his opponents the Guru set out on a progress through the Malwa country—a tract still dotted with shrines, tanks and *dharmsalas* which commemorate his visits. Then he wandered through the Kurukshetra, and thence into Lower India, where the Sikh faith had many scattered adherents. The Sikh accounts of this progress are perhaps inaccurate in detail, but it is certain that Teg Bahadur's itinerary was designed both to foster the Sikh faith where already established and to preach the Sikh doctrine throughout Lower India. Incidentally the existing records show that the network of Sikh organisation had been spread as far east as Patna and even Dacca, where a *masand* was posted. Dacca indeed became a *hazur sangat* or provincial *sangat*, at first under the pontifical throne at Anandpur and latter under the *takht* or archbishopric at Patna. The *sangats* thus established were not merely places of worship but also wayside refectories which gave food and shelter to indigent wayfarers and each was under a *masand*, a term equivalent to viceroy. When in 1666 Teg Bahadur visited Dacca he found prosperous *sangats* at Sylhet, Cittagong, Sondip, Lashkar and elsewhere and by the time of Guru Govind Singh Dacca had earned the title of the Sikhism. At

Patna in 1666 was born the future Guru Govind Singh. Not long afterwards the Guru returned to the Punjab, but Govind Singh remained in his native land until the Guru sent for him and he went to Anandpur.

Recent research has thrown considerable light on the life and propaganda of Guru Teg Bahadur. At that period the Aroras went north to Kabul and Kandahar, Balkh, Bukhara and even Russia, while the Khatris monoplised the markets of Eastern and Southern India. Hence when Teg Bahadur was persecuted by his Sodhi brethren and when even the *mutsaddis* of the temple at Amritsar shut its doors against him he found adherents in the Khatri communities dotted all over Hindustan, the Deccan and Eastern Bengal. These colonies probably preserved the secular Kshatriya tradition of the independence of thought and freedom from Brahmanical control.

The enterprise of the Sikh missioners and the distances to which they travelled may be gauged by the recently discovered itinerary of a pilgrim to the Sikh temples in Southern India and Ceylon. The author must have lived long before 1675, but he must have taken boat at Negapattan on the Coromandel coast and returned through Malayalam, in which country he found stray colonies of Bhatra Sikhs and met Mayadaman, grandson of Shivanath, at Sattur. Inquiries recently made by B. Gurbakhsh Singh have thrown much light on the history of Sikhism in Southern India.

The author of the itinerary mentions a viceroy at Tanjore—Airapati Naik. This and other indications would fix his date soon after the battle of Talikote in Akbar's time. Other details as regards topography are also substantially correct. This account places Shiv Nath at Jaffna, in the extreme north of Ceylon. Sikh temples still exist at Rameshwar. Salur, Bhaker and Shivkanji in Madras and Colombo in Ceylon. Old temples also exist at Burhanpur, Surat, Bombay (and Mahalakshmi, Grant Road), Amraoti, Nirmal (District Adilabad—in the Nizam's Dominions). Manuscript copies of *Granth Sahib* are to be found at Burhanpur and Surat, and another old copy with one Bolaji Tripati at Lonovala (Poona).

The *sangat* at Colombo is in Colombo fort and a Brahmin Misra Jawala Parshad is now in charge. A Sindhi firm—Topan Singh, Mothuwal—claim to have been established in Ceylon

from before Guru Nanak's time. Their head office is at Karachi and their *munib* or agent in Colombo, Gopal Das by name, is still known to be a good Sikh. Certain Egyptian mummies in the Colombo Museum are curiously enough identified by the local Sikhs as Shivnath, his wife and son! Large number of Khatris have been established in Burhanpur from very remote times, and are found as far south as Madras, where a Khatri, Raja Tuljaram, lived not many years ago in Tirmalkheri (Madras town).

At Salur where Guru Nanak is supposed to have held discussions with *yogis* many *maths* or *yogi* temples are found.

Meanwhile Aurangzeb's policy was bearing fruit. In his attempt to Muhammadanize India he had excited grave opposition and Guru Teg Bahadur recognised that if Guru Nanak's acquiescence in the Moslem sovereignty was to be revoked his own life must be the price of the revocation. Accordingly he sent the Kashmiri *pandits* who had appealed to him in their distress to make a petition to the emperor in these words:— 'We live on the offerings of the Kshtris. Guru Teg Bahadur, the foremost among them, is now seated on the throne of Guru Nanak and is Guru of all the Hindus. If thou can first make him a Mussalman, then all the Sikhs and Brahmans who follow him, will of their own accord adopt thy faith.' The emperor accordingly summoned the Guru to Delhi and he replied that he would come after the rains. That season he passed at Saifabad with Saif-ud-Din whom he converted and then dismissing all his followers save five, among whom was his *diwan*, Mati Das Chhibra, he set out for Delhi. At Samana a Pathan offered him a refuge, but the Guru went on to Delhi. There he was seized and resisting every inducement to forsake his faith was eventually put to death. To his son Govind Rai he sent a dying message to abide fearlessly in Anandpur. Govind Rai, then a boy of 9, received this behest at Lakhnaur, whence he and his mother retired to Anandpur.

There he received his father's head, which was cremated at that place. Govind Rai was then acknowledged as the 10th Guru in 1675.

THE SIKH'S RELATIONS WITH THE HILLS STATES

The first of the Hill Rajas to accept the teaching of the Gurus was the Raja of Haripur, in Kangra. He was permitted to see the

Guru Amar Das after eating from his kitchen at which food was prepared and eaten by all castes without distinction. This occurred before 1574.

In 1618 Guru Har Govind had subdued Tara Chand, Raja of Nalagarh, who had been in revolt against Jahangir. He was brought before the emperor and the Guru for his services obtained the honorary command of 1,000 men and 7 guns, with high judicial functions and other honours.

In 1627 Guru Har Govind was invited by some of the Hill Rajas to visit their territory, but he sent Baba Gurditta, his eldest son, to the (Jaswan) Dun and Hindur (Nalagarh) and he founded Kiratpur in that year.

In 1635 however we find Guru Har Govind himself visiting Raja Tara Chand's territory.

In 1942 he joined forces with this State and helped the Raja to defeat the Nawab of Rupar.

About 1656 we find the Sikhs reducing the Raja of Kahlur (Bilaspur) to submission.

In 1682 Raja Bhim Chand of Bilaspur, in whose territory the Guru Govind Singh was then residing, demanded gifts which included an elephant called Parsadi (for loans which he did not intend to return) from his guest. He deputed his *wazir*, Parmanand, to obtain these exactions, but the Guru declined to lend the offering of the Sikhs. The Raja's personal threat of expulsion was equally ineffectual and so he attacked the Guru but was routed, losing many men.

In 1684 Guru Govind Singh visited the Sirmur territory at the Raja's invitation and founded Paonta on the banks of the Jamna.

Bhim Chand's defeat, however, had rankled, and he leagued himself with the Rajas of Goler, Katoch, Jaswal, Kathgarh and Nalagarh against him.

In 1685 they attacked him at Paonta and won over 500 Pathans who had been discharged from the imperial service and whom he had employed on the advice of his friend Budhu Shah of Sadhaura. An equal number of Udasis also deserted him though they had long been fed on his bountry, and if Badhu Shah had not joined him with 2000 disciples the day would have gone against him. The Guru then left Paonta for Anandpur and founded Anandgarh, Lohgarh, Kesgarh and Fatehgarh to keep

the hills States in check.

The attempt of the Delhi government to collect revenue from the hill Rajas however led some at least of them to change sides, for we soon find the Guru aiding them with troops of repel a force sent against them. Bhim Chand too had certainly concluded peace with the Guru, and the Bilaspur chronicles even say that in alliance with him he defined the imperial authorities at Kangra and defeated the governor Alif Khan at Nadaun, but many hill Rajas joined Ghulam Husain Khan in his expedition from Lahore. Before he reached Anandpur however he was opposed by one of the hill Rajas who aided by forces sent by the Guru completely defeated him.

But in 1700 disputes arose about fuel and grass and Rajas Bhim Chand and Alam Chand with the help of the Rajas of Bilaspur and Nalagarh attacked the Sikhs in the forest, only to be completely routed. Bhim Chand then convened a council of the Rajas of Sirmur, Kangra, Daraul, Parauli, Dadwal, Srinagar (Garhwal) and other States, besides those mentioned above and they attacked Anandpur with 20,000 men, but failed to take it by siege and were dispersed. But obtaining promise of a reinforcement of 2000 men from the Mughal governor of Sirhind they treacherously attacked him again, only to meet with a second reverse, and yet they were able to compel Ajit Singh to evacuate Kiratpur. The history of this episode is obscure. The Guru was apparently on friendly terms with the Raja of Basauli and in 1701 he concluded peace with Bhim Chand once more, though he had been the leader of the confederacy against him. Soon after the Guru visited Rawalsar in Mandi.

Guru Govind Singh is said to have come up into the hills from Bilaspur at the end of the 17th century and went as far as Sultanpur in Kulu. There the Raja asked him to perform a miracle whereupon the Guru took hold of his own beard and drew it out to a great length, but the Raja in his turn breathed out a flame which consumed the Guru's beard and also had him imprisoned in an iron cage. The Guru then caused himself to be carried through the air, cage and all to Mandi, where the reigning chief—Raja Sidh Sain, A.D. 1684-1727—received him with honour and treated him hospitably. Govind Singh's journey into the hills seems to have been with the object of seeking assistance from the hills chiefs against the Muhammedans. He remained

some time at Mandi and the Raja became his disciple. On his departure he told the Raja to ask anything he might desire and it would be granted. The Raja expressed with that this capital might never fall into the hands of an enemy, and this promise was given in the following cryptic couplet still current in Mandi.

Mandi ka jab lutenge, Asmani gole chhutenge.

"When Mandi is plundered Heavenly shots will be fired."

Vigne who visited Mandi in 1839 says that down to that time the Sikhs had never entered the capital though the State had long been tributary to them—indeed from 1809—and for some superstitious notions connected with the above prophecy no servant of Maharaja Ranjit Singh had ever been sent to Mandi. The receiver of the revenue on behalf of the Sikhs was quartered outside the town and the Maharaja's officer in attendance on Vigne did not enter it.

By some the promise is said to have been made by Banda, the follower of Guru Govind, but there is no evidence to prove that he ever visited Mandi.

Mandi continued to enjoy immunity from Sikh intrusion till 1840 when a force under General Ventura was sent into the hills under the orders of Nao Nihal Singh, Grandson of Ranjit Singh. Mandi was occupied and the Raja taken by treachery and sent as a prisoner to Amritsar, where he was confined for some time in the fort of Govindgarh. In the following spring, soon after the accession of Maharaja Sher Singh in January 1841, the Raja was released and allowed to return to his capital. General Ventura when returning to Lahore at the close of his expedition took with him the trophies of 200 hill forts—chiefly in Mandi and Kulu—including those of Kamlagarh, the famous Mandi stronghold which till then was a virgin fortress.

The Sirmur Gazetteer (p. 15) which is silent regarding the events of 1700-01 says that Kirat Parkash, Raja of that State from 1754-70, turned his arms against the Sikhs, taking Naraingarh, Morni, Pinjaur and other tracts (from them apparently). He then entered into an alliance with Raja Amar Singh of Patiala.

According to the Bilaspur chronicles Mahan Chand, Raja of that State, 1778-1824 A.D., waged war with the Rajas of Nalagarh and Kangra and the Sodhis of Anandpur, but they do not state expressly that the Sodhis were in alliance with those States.

An account of the latter Sikh incursions into the hills will be found in Barnes' Kangra *Settlement Report*, 56-82, and one of their rule in Kulu in Sir James Lyall's Kangra *Settlement Report*, 82-5. No attempt was apparently made to proselytise the hill people and to this day a Rajput is very rarely a Sikh. Nevertheless there were a few Sikh shrines in the hills at Paonta, in Sirmur, and at Haripur in Mahlog is a *gurdwara*, the see (*gaddi*) of a sect of *gurus* widely reverenced by Sikhs and Hindus in the lower hills and adjacent plains. This sea was founded by Jawahir Singh, who appears to have been the great-grandson of Ganga, founder of the Gangushahis (Volume II, p. 278).

Elsewhere in the hills hardly a trace of Sikhism exists. In Kangra Nanak's teachings resulted in the foundation of a shrine near Raniwal, but it differs little if at all from any other shrine in Kangra. It is called Bawa Fathu's shrine.

Three hundred years ago a Brahman of the Bhari *ilaqa* in Rawalpindi asked Bedi Bawa Prajapati for a charm, as his children had all died and vowed to give his first-born to him. The Brahman had five sons, but failed to keep his word, so two of them died. Thereupon he brought one of his sons, Fathu, to the Bedi, who kept him with him. So Bawa Fathu became a *sadhu* and people began to pay him visits. The Brahmans of the shrine are descendants or Bawa Parjapati, a *bhagat* of Guru Nanak. The fair is held on 1st Baisakh.

In Chamba Sikhism never obtained a footing.

The first mention of the Sikhs in connection with Chamba is in the reign of Raj Singh (A.D. 1764-94); when that Raja obtained the help of the Ramgarhia Sardars against Jammu and Basohili in 1774-75. In the following year the State became Tributary to Jai Singh Kanhiya and paid Rs. 4001 of tribute. This probably continued to be the case till 1785-86 when Jai Singh having been defeated in the plains was compelled to retire from the hills—the suzerainty of the hill States of the Kangra group passing into the hands of Sansar Chand of Kangra. Chamba came under Ranjit Singh's control in 1809, but was only once visited by a Sikh army in 1844.

Basohli was under the Sikhs in 1783 when Foster passed through it. They had probably been called in the previous year on account of the invasion of Raj Singh of Chamba in 1782, referred to by Forster.

In the inner mountains of Bhadrawah and Kashtwar Sikhism seems never to have obtained and real footing. Kashtwar was under Muhammedan rulers—who were nominally at least subject to the Durranis in Kashmir and later to Ranjit Deo of Jammu, and finally to the Rajas of Chamba, to whom the suzertainty of these States was transferred by Jammu towards the end of the 18th century.

In the outer hills from the Sujlet to the Jhelum Sikh influence began to be felt soon after the middle of the 18th century. In their conflicts with one another the hill chieftains often called in to their help one or another of the Sikh leaders, and the latter took advantage of the opportunity thus given them to establish their power in the hills. The first of these to acquire supremacy in the hills to the east of the Ravi was Jassa Singh of the Ramgarhia *misl* who had probably in the first instance been called upon for help in the way described. He assisted Raj Singh of Chamba in expelling the Basohli army in 1775 and the latter State received help from another *misl*, probably that of Jai Singh Kanhiya in 1782-88. In a similar manner, when a feud took place between Ranjit Deo of Jammu and his son Brijraj Deo in A.D. 1774, the former received help from the Bhangi *misl* and the latter from the Sukarchakia *misl*, the Sikhs being only mercenaries and ready to sell their swords to the highest bidder. When they came they generally came to stay, and by the beginning of the 19th century all the States of the outer hills, except Kashtwar, had become tributary.

That the tenets of the Sikh faith took root to any extent in the hills is highly improbable, though some of the Rajas may have given a nominal adherence. Between Ranjit Singh and the hill chiefs no love was lost. They despised him as an upstart of lower status socially than themselves: and possessing no claim to their homage and allegiance. To Ranjit Singh the Rajput chiefs "were an object of special aversion, for they represented the ancient aristocracy of the country, and declined to countenance an organization in which high caste counted for nothing."

Among the common people however a certain amount of veneration was developed for the personality of Nanak and his descendants called Bedis. For a long time probably the Sikhs in Chamba and possibly in other parts of the hills have been in the habits of transmitting a yearly offering in cash to one of the Sikh

shrines in the plains and about 30 years ago this usage spread almost all over the State, but more especially in the Church *wizarat* and assumed the character of a voluntary cess on the Hindu community. This cess is farmed out by some Babas or descendants of Nanak, residing in Chamba, at the rate of 4 *chaklis* (nearly an anna) in cash and one *mani* of grain (*kachcha seers*) for each household, the cash being paid to the Babas and the grain going to the collector of the cess as his remuneration.

Nanak as a saint is believed to control one of the infectious fevers, probably typhus, and the offering is meant as a propitiation to ensure protection from the disease. This belief is probably prevalent in other parts of the hills also.

In the Simla Hills an Udasi ascetic has become a Hindu god under the name of the Dughli *deota*, whose temple is on a peak of the Darla *dhar*, a smaller range running from south-east to north-west through the centre of the State, parallel with the Bari *dhar*. A fair is held on the 1st Asauj. Dughli is the name of the place. The temple was erected over the tomb of an Udasi *faqir* of noted piety. It is a resort of Udasis, and the local people have converted the original saint into a god.

Guru Govind Singh—We now come to that great historic figure, the 10th and last Guru of the Sikhs. Surrounded during his childhood by Hindu influences, Govind Rai succeeded to his office under every temptation to remain within the pale of orthodox Hinduism, and indeed one tradition asserts that his first act was to ascend to the temple of Naina Devi which stands on a precipitous hill overlooking the Sutlej. Here the Brahmans called on him to sacrifice one of his four sons to the goddess, but their mothers refused to surrender them for this object, and finally five Sikhs offered their heads. One of them was duly offered to the goddess, who promised a world-wide fame for the Guru's creed. Mythical as the story undoubtedly is, it does not do more than show that Govind Rai was in no way hostile to Hinduism at his accession. But it is not accepted as even metaphorically true by more advanced Sikh opinion. The cult of Devi is no doubt often alluded to in the Sikh writings and histories Thus Guru Angad's father had been a devotee of Jwalamukhi, but the Guru himself was not. His successor Amar Das had been a Vaishnava, but he was a firm adherent of Nanak's teaching. Nevertheless we hear of no explicit condem-

nation of the cult of Devi until the time of Guru Govind Singh whose ideas were opposed by the priests. They proposed the performance of a great *homa rite* for the propitiation of Durga, so that the might appear and bless the new Khalsa sect, and they also preached the power of the goddess, persuading the Sikhs to make offerings and sacrifices to her in order to obtain invincibility. The Guru assented to the proposal in order to prove the hollowness of this cult of Devi and a peak close to Naina Devi was chosen for the *rite*. The recitation of hymns began in 1697 and was kept up for a whole year, the chief *pandit* constantly prophesying her advent and finally declaring that she would require the sacrifice of some holy person, hinting at the Guru's eldest son. But the Guru's suggested that the *pandit's* superior sanctity qualified him as the victim. This suggestion led the *pandit* to depart, never to return, and his companions followed suit. The Guru cast all the accumulated *ghi* &c. into the great fire pit and declared that the sword he held in his hand was the Devi's symbol. She did not appear. Then the Guru feasted Brahmans, but expounded to them the brotherhood of man. Soon after the Guru however began to lead a life of seclusion and the masses believed that his mind had suffered by the appearance of the Devi or some such cause.

The account current in the hills of this event is characteristically different and illustrates the conflicts between the teaching of the Sikh Gurus and the orthodox cult of Devi. The story goes that Guru Govind before embarking on his campaign against the Turks sought the aid of Naina Devi. He brought with him a Brahman of Benaras and for months kept up the *homa*. At last the Devi appeared and the Guru, awestricken, presented his sword which she touched and disappeared. The Brahman, however, declared that the stigma or defect in the *rite* caused by the Guru's display of fear could only be removed by the sacrifice of one of his sons. To this he agreed, but the mothers of his four sons objected. So one of his follower was sacrificed, the goddess reappeared and promised prosperity to his sect.

Guru Govind Singh was, however, bitterly opposed to Islam. The execution of his father called for retribution, and the Guru early instituted the *pahul* or *rite* of initiation whereby a chosen few were admitted into a sacred brotherhood, called the Khalsa or 'pure' commonwealth of the Sikh votaries. To

emphasize the change thereby effected in the initiates' being the Guru altered his cognomen, whatever it might formerly have been, into Singh, he himself assuming the style of Govind Singh instead of Govind Rai.

As the outward and visible sign of his initiation the Sikh was enjoined to wear the 5 K's:

the *kes* or long hair:
the *kachh* or short drawers ending above the knee;
the *kara* or iron bangle:
the *kirpan* or *small knife* with an iron handle round *which the kee is rolled and fastened to the head:* (some authorities give instead the *khanda* or steel knife);
and the *kangha* or comb.

He also wore blue clothes, a colour abhorrent to the Hindu, though anciently worn by Balrama himself. He also avoided the use of tobacco.

Lastly, the Guru enjoined ablution of the head, arms and thighs (*punjnanish*, or panj ishnana, *i.e.*, washing of 5).

The first initiates of the Guru were 5 men of various different castes and hailing from distant parts of India. They were a barber of Southern India, a Khatri of the Punjab, a Kahar of Jagnanath, a Jat of Hastinapur (Delhi), a Chhipa of Dwarka in Gujarat, just, one may say, the very classes among which Sikhism has had its fewest converts.

The Guru also denounced 5 bodies of men, *viz.*, (i) the Mina Dhirmallia sectaries, (ii) the Ram Rajas, (iii) *the masandias*, (iv) *the kurimars*, or those who destroyed girl infants, and (v) the *bhaddanis*, who saved their children's heads. The Guru also denounced certain practices, *viz.* the use of the *janeo*, the *karma* or belief in metempsychosis, the distinction of castes (*kelnas*), and division of classes. Their watchwords must be *Kritnash, kulvash, dharmnash, karmnash*, 'Forsake occupation and family, and ceremonies.'

The Transition from Theocracy to Monarchy

Guru Govind Singh perished or disappeared in 1708, a year after Aurangzeb had died in 1707. He was succeeded as military leader, but not as Guru, of the Sikhs by Banda, the 'Slave' of the departed Guru once a Bairagi devotee but converted to the Sikh

faith by the Guru's supernatural powers. But Banda was nothing more than a devoted, almost fanatical, military commander and under his leadership the political development of the Sikhs ceased. Banda's religious doctrines indeed showed Hinduizing tendencies. His rule was, however, too short to be an enduring influence in Sikhism, for in 1716 he was captured by Abdul Samad Khan, Governor of Kashmir and the Punjab, and put to death at Delhi.

The Bandai Sikh

The regime founded by Govind Singh was however destined, even before its birth, to be profoundly affected by separatism and even schism. The principal exponent of a more violent policy than the Guru's was the famous Banda. The death of Aurangzeb in 1707 was followed dissensions among his sons. Govind Singh found a protector or at least a sympathiser in the emperor Bahadur Shah, but he was not able or willing to restrain the activities of Banda. This man had a curious history. By birth a Rajput of Rajauri in Kashmir he had changed his name of Lachhman Bala to Narain Das at the shrine of Ram Thamman near Kasui and became a *Bairagi* in 1686. But in 1691 he became a *Jogi* and an adept in ocult science with the name of Madho Das. Meeting the Guru, probably at Nader, he was given the title of Bahadur, with that of Banda which he had earned by his submission to the Guru, together with five arrows and other weapons. But he was not initiated with the *pahul* and while imparting to him his spiritual power the Guru enjoined on him five rules according to which he was to remain strictly celibate and truthful, not to start a new sect or use a cushion in a Sikh temple, or allow himself to be styled Guru, but live in peace with the Singhs.

Banda proceeded to wage open and relentless war on all Muhammedans and he was joined by the Singhs. He exacted vengeance for the execution of Guru Teg Bahadur and for the treachery of the Pathans of Damla. Moreover he reduced Sadhaura in spite of its adherence to the Guru, and some four months before his death he destroyed Sirhind with merciless slaughter. To its province he appointed a governor and a *diwan*, organised its administration and the collection of its revenue.

This victory made many join the Khalsa, but it was not

followed up at least by Banda himself. One of his first acts was to chastise the Ram Raias of Pael, and then after exacting contribution from Maler Kotla and Raikot he retreated to Mukhlasgarh in the hills, renamed it Lohgarh and provided it with immense stores, but he himself retired into the Joharsar hills for religious meditation. Meanwhile the Sikhs met with defeats at Tirauri and Kharar, but were joined by Banda at Burail and a victory there enabled them to regain Sirhind, which they had lost. But he failed to take Jalalabad by siege and after defeats at Ladwa and Shahbad in 1709, Sirhind was re-occupied by the Muhammedans and the Sikhs retired to the hills. Banda had apparently again retired to Lohgarh whence he emerged for another advance on Sirhind and regained all the country lost by the Sikhs. But again his triumph was short lived for he met with a crushing reverse at Saharanpur-Buria at the hands of prince Rafi-us-shan and was driven back to Lohgarh. Thence he escaped in disguise, fleeing into the hills and getting possession of Sirhind again, but only for a short time as in 1711 the emperor's appearance in person made him seek refuge in the hills once more. At Pathankot he had a successful encounter with the Mughals, killing Shams Khan, a *faujdar*, and Bazid Khan. The emperor issued an edict that all Hindus should shave off their beards and that all Singhs should be indiscriminately massacred, a step which led to the slaughter of thousands of Hindus on suspicion.

Bahadur Shah's death in 1712 led to the usual strife amongst his sons for sovereignty and Banda took full advantage of it to occupy Sirhind again and compel the Rajas of Sirmur, Nalagarh and Bilaspur to submit formally to his allegiance. He reduced the Muhammedan *jagirdars* of Ropar, Bassi, Kiri and Bahlolpur to a similar position, and in 1714 was strong enough to hold a regal *darbar* at Amritsar, at which he appeared in royal dress with an aigrette on his head. His next step was to take Gurdaspur, Pathankot and Batala, which last named town he gave up to indiscriminate pillage and massacre, beginning with its wealthiest quarter, the *muhalla* of the Qazis. These events were followed by the reluctant submission of the Kangra chiefs.

In 1713 Farrukhsiar's reign began and he promptly attacked the Sikhs on two sides, calling in a large army from Kashmir and sending picked forces from the east against them at the same time. The Sikhs rallied at Sirhind, but were compelled to fall

back on Lohgarh which was besieged until Banda sallied forth from his hill fastnesses and drove back the imperialists, thus bringing the country between Lahore and the Jumna under Sikh control. Farrukhsiar next tried to use the influence of Guru Govind Singh's widow against Banda, who was excommunicated on eight counts in that he had married, started a new creed, substituted a *charan pahul* for the Sikh *khanda pahul*, invented the warcy of *fateh daras* (victory of faith), in lien of the Sikh war-cry, attired himself in royal robes, styled himself the 11th Guru and claimed to rule the Sikhs, his followers being called Bandai instead of the Singhs of the Guru. Banda's answer to these charges was significant. He said he was merely a Bairagi *faqir* and not the follower of Govind Singh: yet that he was merely carrying out his orders for the campaign of vengeance and the protection of the Khalsa.

This edict led to the disruption of the Sikhs, the true or Tat Khalsa holding Amritsar, while Banda went to Gurdaspur. His power lay chiefly along the Jammu border as far as Attock, but he had adherents also in Ambala whose *faujdar* they defeated. But all his efforts at a reconciliation with the Tat Khalsa failed and in 1711 he was captured at the siege of Gurdaspur. He is generally said to have been put to death with great cruelty at Delhi, but another tradition is that by a mental process he survived his tortures and resuscitated himself. Refusing the offer of some Singhs to place themselves under his leadership he retired to Bhabbar on the Chenab in the Riasi *pargana* of Jammu where he died in 1741, leaving a son whose decendants still hold charge of his shrine.

Banda's relations to the Tat Khalsa are not very clear. It certainly fought against him at his siege of Lahore, but generally refused to do so. It had made terms with the Mughai governors, but was certainly reluctant to join them in repressing Banda. The Imperialist attitude to the Sikhs indeed changed as soon as Banda had been captured, and the Singhs, retaliated. In 1725 they proclaimed their intention of holding the Diwali fair at Amritsar, but the Bandai Sikhs, still more numerous than the Singhs, disputed the claim. It was settled by lot and most of the Bandai Sikhs went over to the Tat Khalsa, being initiated by the *khanda pahul*. Confused, desultory fighting ensued with the Imperialists, but in 1731 a Sikh force surprised their main body

at Bhilowal, 20 miles from Lahore, and then Farrukhsiar weakly offered them a jagir of Rs. 100,000, with the title of Nawab to cease their depredations. This latter offer the Sikh leaders one and all rejected, but Kapur Singh of Faizullapur, then working a hand-*pankha*, was decked in the imperial robe, and proclaimed Nawab. Whatever the truth of this story may be, Kapur Singh became a notable figure among the Sikhs. He had succeeded his father as leader of the Singh who subsequently formed the Faizullapuria *misl* in 1915, and in various battles received no less than 43 wounds. It was considered a great honour to be initiated by him and among many others Ala Singh, Raja of Patiala, and many of his relations received the *pahul* at his hands. He paved the way for the Khalsa's rise to power and its transformation into a monarchy. He appears to have designated Jassa Singh Ahluwalia as his successor in the leadership of the Khalsa.

The Singhs or their leaders however certainly the accepted the Dipalpur, Kanganwal and Jhabal *parganas* in *jagir* and abandoning plunder contrived to subsist on its income. But as their numbers increased they divided in 1734 into two *dals* or armies, one called the Budha or veteran, the other the Taru or young. The latter had five *jatthas,* companies or group, *viz.*, the Shahids, Amritsarias (headed by Khatris of Amritsar), the Dallewalias (headed by Khatris of Dallewala) that of Baba Khan Singh, and the Ramdasias (headed by Ramdasis or Mazhabi Singhs). These *dals* fought in unsion, especially in the submontane tracts along the Jammu border, and the division had no religious significance.

The events of the next few years can only be very briefly touched upon. It is however necessary to hark back first for a moment to Banda's relations with the Rajput chiefs of the Kangra hills and the adjoining tracts in the north-west corner of the Punjab plains. As already described the Kangra chiefs had reluctantly submitted to him in 1714, and he had undoubtedly found allies in the hills whence he descended in that year to fall upon the country round Batala and Kalanaur, and whither he fled when imperial troops were sent against him. In 1716 however he again emerged from his stronghold, falling upon the two towns just mentioned and sacking them with much slaughter of the Muhammedans, including the famous family of Shaikh-ul-Ahmad. But some of the hill Rajas sided with the

Mughal Governors, for Abdul Samad Daler-jang, Governor of Lahore, set out in pursuit of him assisted not only by *hakims* of Eminabad, Pasrur, Patti and Kalanaur but also by Raja Bhim Singh of Katoch and Druva Deva of Jasrota.

But Nadir Shah's invasion in 1738-39 appears to have led indirectly to a general combination between the Mughal Governor and the Hill Rajas to put down the Sikhs, although they had fiercely assailed the invader on this retreat. The Sikhs had seized the opportunity allowed them by the confusion created by the invasion to plunder Muhammedan villages and Nawab Kapur Singh had refused to join Nawab Zakaria Khan, Governor of Lahore, in resisting them. A demand for restitution of half the booty wrested from Nadir Shah was rejected by the Sikhs and this exposed them to the enmity of Hindus as well as Muhammedans. After Ahmad Shah's invasion of 1748 a proclamation issued for their extermination. About 15,000 Sikhs had collected in the dense jungle of Kahnuwan which Lakhpat Rai, Khatri, chief minister to the governor at Lahore, invested. His blockade lasted three months and when the Sikhs had exhausted their ammunition they tried to cut their way out towards the hills through Pathankot, only to find the passes all blocked by the Hill Rajas under orders from the Governor of Lahore. Finally they broke through towards the south and directed their course towards the Malwa. This fight was known as the Chhota Ghallughara. Again in 1756 when Adina Beg, Governor of Lahore, fled before Ahmad Shah's invasion of that year he sought protection under the Hills Rajas.

After Banda's execution the Sikhs waged implacable war against the Muhammedans, but made no attempt to establish an organised government. In 1748, Cunnigham states, the *dal* of the Khalsa, 'their army of the elect.' was proclaimed by Jassa Singh Kalal, one of their ablest leaders and head of the Ahluwalia *misl*, and a few years later he struck coins in the Mughal mint at Lahore with the legend: "Coined by the grace of the Khalsa in the country of Ahmad, conquered by Jassa the Kalal." In 1761 when Ahmad Shah retired from the Punjab after his great victory at Panipat, Jassa Singh attacked him while he was crossing the Bias and released about 22,000 Hindu captives, male and female. For this feat he was popularly known as Bandichhor or 'the liberator.' He also occupied Lahore. But the Sikhs had to

cope with internal dissensions, for about this time the *mahant*, who was Hindal's successors at his shrine in Jandiala, turned against the Singhs and tempered with Nanak's biography. He had destroyed hundreds of innocent Singhs and now called in the aid of the Abdali whose forces in 1862 raised the siege of Jandiala which the Sikhs abandoned, concentrating at the siege of Sirhind which they would probably have taken in that year but for the advance of the Shah's forces, allied to the Muhammedan chiefs of Maler Kotla Baroch and other places. Their great defeat at the hands of the Abdali near Hathur—the *vada ghalhu ghara* or great defeat—followed in the same year.

Nevertheless in 1763 the Sikhs took Sirhind, sacked and destroyed it. This event virtually decided the fate of the Punjab proper as far as the abdalis were concerned, and the generally received account is that in 1762 Ala Singh of Patiala received the first title of Raja ever bestowed on a Sikh chieftain, and, though no coins of his appear to be extant he seems to have minted rupees in 1763 or two years before his death which occurred in 1765. The Sikh policy was radically changed from that time. The Phulkian chiefs became sovereigns in their own States. Tradition indeed describes how after their victory at Sirhind in 1763 "the Sikhs dispersed as soon as the battle was won, and how riding day and night, each horseman would throw his belt and scabbard, his articles of dress and accoutrement, until he was almost naked, into successive village, to mark them as his." This description may well have been true of their earlier conquests, but the old Mughal province of Sirhind was partitioned in a much more systematic way.

In 1762 the Sikh chief assembled at Amritsar and proclaimed their supremacy and struck the Nanakshahi or Govindshahi rupee which bore the inscription:

Deg wa Teg wa Fatih nusrat be drang,
Yaft az Nanak Guru Govind Singh

"Guru Govind Singh received from Nanak,
The Sword, the Bowl and Victory unfailling.

This inscription was adhered to in the main by later Sikh chiefs, including Ranjit Singh, though petty chiefs occasionally inserted the emperor's name. It was also retained by Nabha, but

never adopted by the other two Phulkian States.

From time to time attempts were made to restore the Sikh theocracy, under representatives of the sacred Khatri families. For instance in 1800 Sahib Singh Bedi, a descendant of Baba Nanak, 'pretended to religious inspiration,' collected a large force, invested Ludhiana, took Maler Kotla and 'called on George Thomas to obey him as the true representative of the Sikh prophet.' But the time had gone by for militant religious leaders and the Bedi soon retired north of the Sutlej.

II

In almost all religious of the world, some type of *rites*, rituals, sacraments and ceremonies are performed through which God, gods and goddesses are worshipped to seek their blessings. Worship is done everywhere by people whether sitting in homes, shops, places of business or temples. These are the *rites* which people perform to please the Divine Power to get peace and happiness in this world or to seek salvation in the next. These *rites* form the organised mode of worship.

Ritualism in religion has come to us through the ages. *Rites* and ceremonies are valuable to the extent they remind the people of their relation with God. One ritual can be as good as another provided the object worshipped is Divine Reality and the relation between the object and the symbol is crystal clear.

In ancient times, the priestly class encouraged ritualism and went to the extent of instilling fear among people, saying that if such and such ceremony was not performed it would bring the wrath of God. On account of this the hold of priests over people increased tremendously. In the primitive society, priests were known as magician and were said to have possessed certain miraculous powers. They combined purification with sacrifice. People were asked to make sacrifices to escape the course of God, gods and goddesses. The magic performed by priests is said to have brought fortune to people. It could bring rain for good crops, ward off natural calamities and even help defeat the enemy. Thus the primitive man's religion was based on occult powers and magic and rituals were part of it.

Then came Vedic age. New gods and goddesses came into existence which were worshipped by the people in order to seek

salvation. These gods were *Indra, Surya, Agni,* and *Usha*. They were invoked to bestow gifts, such as property, long life and happiness. Hymns were chanted to please them to seek their blessings. Although people's attitude towards worship changed, the custom of making sacrifices continued unabatedly. Prayers too were like magic tricks which impelled the deity to do as the devotee desired. Hymns recited on the occasion of sacrifices were preserved as charms and were supposed to bring victory in war, prosperity and happiness in life.

Then developed another class of *Brahmins*. In the early Aryan society, they became the most dominant and influential class. Kings and Rajas sought the blessings of *Brahmins* in the performance of various functions of the State. *Havans* and *yagnas* were performed with the help of *Brahmins* to seek blessings of God.

The *Brahmins* were supposed to be learned people. They were required to perform religious services; they also imparted education to the people. They were respected for their piety and simplicity. But with the passage of time people started offering them costly gifts; Rajas specially loaded them with wealth and treasures. They became the privileged class and began to exploit the innocent and ignorant people engrossed in superstitions. They led luxurious lives in the name of religion and service to the people. They became corrupt with money and the prestige they commanded. They preached performance of rituals for the emancipation of soul and *Brahmins* became an institution and occupied the place of religion. Worship was turned into mechanical performance of rituals.

They exploited the Hindu society so much and organised the religious aspect of social system to such an extent that from birth to death services of *Brahmins* became indispensable. Ceremony at the time of a child's birth, *mundan* ceremony, wearing of holy thread and other ceremonies concerning marriages had to be performed and at the time of death the *Brahmin* was required to perform one or the other ritual.

With the advent of Islam in India, there was intermingling of cultures. Two streams of culture began to develop parallel to each other. Islam could not be absorbed in the mainstream of Hinduism. The *Brahmin* found his counterpart in the *mulla*, who was also considered a noble and privileged person. He was

patronised by the rulers. The *mullas* too accumulated wealth and riches and were exploiting the rich by creating fear in them about the day of destiny when everybody would have to give an account of his deeds. This fear lurked in the minds of the people and they followed the dictates of the *mullas* without questioning.

Before the birth of Guru Nanak, besides the *Brahmins* and the *mullas*, several hundred *yogis*, *fakirs* and *sidhs* wandered from place to place wearing typical garbs denoting symbols of austerity. They roamed from one end of the country to another, carrying with them their staffs, rosaries and their pipes of hemp; they smeared their bodies with ashes and painted their heads with frontal marks. They preached asceticism and mortification of the flesh which were supposed to endow the practitioners with miraculous powers.

With the passage of time, there came in them moral degradation and their values were decayed. They started indulging in immoral practices. In a way, they looted the people and extracted money from them. The innocent people worshipped them like gods for fear of their curse. If any person did not serve them well they gave him *sarap* (curse) and those who entertained them in a royal manner were given *vars* (blessings). They had considerable hold on the people and dominated the religious life of the people.

When Guru Nanak was born, people were ignorant, backward and deeply steeped, in superstition. Huge sums were spent on fruitless ceremonies even if a person could not afford their cost or was barely making both ends meet. It was a life of blind conventionalism which led to hypocrisy and mammon worship. The spirit of both Islam and Hinduism found expression in a number of meaningless formalities, and extraneous observances. Formalities reigned supreme. Alchemy and thaumaturgy were freely professed and incantations and spells practised.

In short, people in the country were hopelessly divided. Sunk low in the depth of ignorance and superstition they had become spiritual slaves. The caste system had become rigid under the influence of the *brahmanic* revival. It was considered a horrible sin for a *sudra* to hear Vedic hymns and this could be punished by pouring molten lead into his ears. Nature had forever settled a person into the caste in which he was born, and

he was bound to it for life without any regard to his poverty or riches, talents, character or skill. Human dignity and feelings were bound up in separate castes.

Bhai Gurdas tells us that there was quite a confusion when the four castes and as many as four *ashrams* not mingled. There were *sanayasis* offering different demonstrations and *yogis* set up their twelve path. People were extremely divided and were sunk low in superstition in *kalyuga*.

The Hindus had four castes and the Muslims were dived into four sects. With jealousy, arrogance and vanity, they fought each other without any reason. The Muslims regarded Mecca and *Kaaba* as sacred while Hindus worshipped the Ganges and Benaras. Islam was reduced to simply circumcision whereas Hindus only were sacrificial thread and frontal marks. *Ram* and *Rahim* denoted only one God but their followers traversed different paths in ignorance. People had altogether forgotten the teachings of their holy books—the *Quran* and the *Vedas*. The world was lost in avarice. Truth had vanished and *mullas* and *Brahmins* were struggling against each other.

The Hindus were totally indifferent to the miseries and troubles of the contemporary world. *Brahmins* were considered superior to others and were the only ones having sanction to read *Vedas* and other holy scriptures. The masses were denied this opportunity, so they remained generally ignorant and were sunk in the quagmire of superstition. The priests had reduced religion to a mockery, its spirit was dead and instead there had sprung up a religion of formal ceremonies and rituals.

The priest, the hereditary guardians of Hinduism, could not unite all Hindus.

They shut themselves up in the impregnable fortress of caste. The privileged ones were taken in and the rest were left to fight their own battle in their own way.

Idol worship was the most common feature of religion. People having committed several sins in their daily life went every year on pilgrimage. They thought that all their crimes, corruption and other evils could be washed away by a dip in the holy Ganges. Thefts were common and so was adultery. But the sacred thread worn round the body put on them the hallmark of high character.

The Hindu caste system had lost its originality and elasti-

city, and had become rigid giving rise to evils and miseries. The *Brahmins* mercilessly abused this situation. The so-called high class priests neglected teaching of spiritual realities to the people who were sunk in supersition and materialism. Religion was confused with caste distinctions.

In the words of Sir Gokal Chand Narang: "The popular religion about the time of Nanak's birth was confined to peculiar forms of eating and drinking, peculiar ways of bathing and painting the forehead and other such mechanical observances. The worship of idols, wherever they were permitted to exist, pilgrimages to Ganges and other sacred places, whenever they were allowed, the observance of certain ceremonies like the martial and funeral *rites*, the obedience to the mandates of the *Brahmins* and lavishing charitable gifts upon them constituted almost the whole of Hinduism as it was then current among the masses."

Thousands of gods and goddesses came into existence and their following increased tremendously. A sort of rivalry was created among them and a competition developed as to who was the superior among gods.

As far as the common mass of Muslims were concerned, they were no better than the Hindus. They were ignorant of their religion and teachings of Islam were unknown to them. *Mullas* and *qazis* who professed the knowledge of the tenets of Islam were in reality ignorant of *Shariat*. They were fast degenerating.

The ideal to worship one God was preached by Prophet Mohammad but in actual practice most of the Muslims worshipped *pirs, fakirs* and graves.

The teachings of holy *Quran* were altogether forgotten. They were promised beautiful nymphs in heaven and thousands of slaves, and fully furnished houses with all the luxuries of life. Such liberal promises of future happiness were enough to attract them to follow the teachings of *pirs* and *fakirs*.

People had thus lost their moorings. Moral standards were completely forsaken and religion had lost its sanctity.

Guru Nanak found himself in a precarious situation when he started preaching the Name of God. He strongly condemned ritualism and idolatry as also the priestly class. He told people to discard age-old ceremonies having no relevance to reality. He was opposed to superstitious type of worship of God. It was not

the way a person worshipped the Almighty that was important but the sincerity of purpose. Even at a very early stage in his life, when Guru Nanak was asked to wear the sacred thread by the priest, he told him:

> "Out of the cotton of mercy spin the thread of contentment,
> The knots of continence,
> Give it a twist of righteousness.
> O, priest, put around me such a thread
> If thou hast it,
> It will not break once worn,
> Nor burnt, lost or get soiled.
> Blest is the man, O Nanak, who weareth such a thread"
>
> —*Var Asa*

Guru Nanak laid emphasis on ethical living and spiritual experience. He tried his best to wean people away from all the impediments and formalities which stood in the way of purity of true religion. Ethics was regarded as the basis of all religious beliefs. He told people that spiritual awareness could not be attained without noble actions, without selfless service and without piety and truthful living.

To keep the purity of religion Guru Nanak had to wage war against the forces of conservatism, orthodoxy, ignorance and superstition. He attacked the citadel of *Brahmins, mullas* and *yogis* and fought against the cults of the priestly class. He infused the spirit of true worship among the people at large, and rid them of the apathy of weariness of the spirit. He tore apart the veil of falsehold and brought people face to face with truth and reality. He exposed the futility of useless and meaningless ceremonies and rituals as also claims made by the *Brahmins* for the salvation of human beings. His task consisted of weaning people away from the worship of idols and images and leading them to worship only one God who was the Creator and the Destroyer. He fought against hypocrisy, superstition, forms and ceremonies and showed people the true path of worship for their emancipation. The Guru told the *Brahmins*:

> "O *Brahmin,* make God the image of Thy worship
> And right living the necklace of *tulsi,* sit in the boat of God's
> Name and pray

O merciful Lord, be merciful to me
Why thou waterest the barren land and wastest thy life.
The mud wall thou buildest shall fall
Then why thou plaster it
Fill the mind with noble thoughts
Make the raft of the sacred Name,
Become beautiful and cross the ocean of life
Make thy body like a Persian wheel
Let thy mind be the bullock, yoked to run the wheels
Then irrigate thy mind with nectar
Let passion and wrath be thy weeder and
With them clear the farm of weeds.
The deeper thou digest, thou shall be happy
And thy labour shall bear fruit
O God, if thou art merciful,
One becometh swan from a heron
Thus prayeth Nanak, the humble slave O God, be Thou merciful to me."

—*Rag Basant*

Guru Nanak also explained the essential of a true Muslim. He said:

"It is far too easy to call oneself a Muslim
But far too difficult to become one
He who believes firmly in his faith
Has a right to be called a Muslim
His deeds must accord with his faith in prophet.
He must scrub himself clean of pride and vanity
He must not have any fear of life and death
Resigned to the Will of God
Believing the Creator as Supreme
He must quell thoughts of self
And be compassionate to all living beings.
He alone is worthy to call himself a true Muslim"

Var Majh

To the *sanyasis* and *bairagis*, Guru Nanak had the following advice to give:

"Ye colour thy clothes to adopt the garb of the order
And ye seem to wear a surplice of worn out

clothes and a good sound bag to receive ablution
Ye go begging from door to door, without being humble
And ye assume the role of teachers of the world.
Thus, ye, O blind fellows, lose all honour and respect
Lost in absurd supersition, ye comprehend not the word
And thereby gamble away the souls for a mere trifle
Women ye have abandoned, and subduced by passion.
Ye attach thy-selves with others' wives,
Mind ye, O people, blessed is he who dwelleth at
the feet of the Lord, be he the householder or a *sanyasi.*"

—*Rag Maru*

To the *yogis*, Guru Nanak said:

"*Yoga* is neither a patched coat,
nor in the *yogi's* staff, nor in ashes
Smeared on the body, nor in the ear rings,
nor in shaven head, nor in blowing of the horns.
Abide in the pure amidst the impurities of life
and yet remaineth spotless.
Thus thou shalt find the way of true *yoga*.
Yoga cometh not by tall talks,
for he alone is a true *yogi* who looked all men as equal
Yoga consisteth not in wandering in cremation ground or
sitting in contemplation
Yoga consisteth not in roaming about
nor in bathing at places of pilgrimage
If one remaineth detached in the midst of attachment,
Then, verily one attaineth the true state of *yoga*."

—*Rag Suhi*

About going on pilgrimages and washing sins in the holy rivers, Guru Nanak said:

"The more places of pilgrimage one visits
The more one puts on garbs
the more one suffers.
Suffer thou, these are thy own deeds.
By fasts one loses the taste of tongue.
By not putting clothes one groans day and night"

—*Asa-di-Var*

Guru Nanak vehemently condemned idol worship. To him it

was a futile attempt to attain salvation. He said:

"One worshipeth gods and goddesses
But what can one get out of them?
One washeth the stone gods with water
They sink themselves; how can they
ferry one across."

—*Sorath*

Instead of worshipping stones and images, Guru Nanak asked them to remember His Name only: He said

"I shall never fall a prey to doubt
And shall never worship anyone else but God
I shall not go to graves or cremation grounds
I shall not visit others' houses influenced by desire
My thirst has been quenched by the Name."

—*Sorath*

Mantras and incantations have no place in Sikhism. Guru Nanak decried them outright.

"I have no faith in *tantras* and *mantras*
My mind is only absorbed in the Lord
Who resides in my heart."

—*Suhi MI*

Havans and *yagnas* do not find any place in Sikhism. Guru Arjan said:

"*Havans, yagnas,* pilgrimage to holy places are performed
But they all lead to ego and other vices

—*Gauri MV*

All the sacraments were rejected in Sikhism. Guru Amar Das said:

"So many ceremonies are performed,
But without the Name of the Lord
They are but woe and egoism
One is entangled in *Maya's* fetters
He can secure release only, through the
light of the Guru, sayeth Nanak"

—*Gauri M III*

Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth Master, too condemned idol worship. He said:

"Some worship stones and put them on their heads,
Some suspend *lingams* from their necks;
Some see God in the south,
Some how their heads to the west,
Some ignorant people worship idols,
Others worship the dead,
The whole world is engrossed in futile ceremonies
Hath not found the secret of the Lord.

—*Akal Ustat*

The Guru repeated the same ideal while addressing idol worshippers. He said:

"O great beast that doth not recogniseth Him
Whose glory filleth all the worlds.
Thou worshipeth things the touch of which
shall make you lose heaven
Instead of worshipping the Supreme Lord
By intending to perform good deeds
Thou committest so immoral acts
Which ashamed the greatest sins,
Fall at the feet of the Lord, O fool,
Who is not in a stone."

—*Akal Ustat*

Guru Gobind Singh said again:

"Some believe in the images of Vishnu,
Others call Shiva their Lord.
Some consider His abode in the temple
Others believe He lives in a mosque,
Some call him Rama, some Krishna,
Some accept the incarnations as God.
Abandoning all these ways, I only
believe in the Creator who hath created all of them."

—*Sawayyas* (12)

"Why dost thou worship stones,
A stone cannot contain the Lord.
Worship Him only as thy Lord, by
worshipping whom all pains vanish.

All ailments, physical and mental,
Shall be cured when thou remembereth Him.
Meditation on Him only is acceptable.
these futile deeds are meaningless'

Guru Govind Singh has further elucidated this point. He said:

"The wicked hill chiefs and their henchmen
conspire my life to finish everyday,
For I worship only the Lord and
break the stone gods whom they worship."

—*Zafarnama* (95)

Thus, in the Sikh religion, there is no place for rituals and *rites*. Guru Nanak exhorted people to bring about simplicity in religion. Sikhism does not believe in *vars* (blessings) or *saraps* (curses). When Guru Nanak visited Jagannath Puri, he did not perform the *arti* because earthen lamps were lighted in *thalis* and incense and flowers were offered. The Guru sang a hymn and gave a new form of *arti*. He said:

"The entire sky is the salver,
The moon and sun are the lamps.
The luminous stars are studded in it like jewels,
The winds waft the scent of all the flowers on earth.
The incense is the scent of the sandalwood on the mountain
Thus is His worship performed."

—*Rag Dhanasri*

Such form of worship was advocated by Guru Nanak. In Sikhism there is no place for symbols, rituals and pilgrimages to holy places. Guru Nanak diverted people's attention from the formal and outer side of religion and laid emphasis on the inner life through ethical living.

In short, Guru Nanak and his successors laid great stress on the essential inwardness of true religion. For the Sikh Gurus, rituals were meaningless. What mattered was the purity of mind and sincereity of purpose, and worship which lacked such qualities was only mechanical in nature and thus futile. The Guru said:

"Burnt be those rituals and formalities
That make me forget my Beloved Lord."

Guru Nanak's faith can be summarised in his hymn:

> "As the lotus remaineth detached in water
> or as the duck in the stream,
> Do doth one cross the ocean of life by
> meditating and ensuring the Lord in his heart."
>
> —*Sidh Gosht*

Again Guru Nanak said:

> "What all these rituals are worth?
> If the heart is not pure."

Only simple ceremonies are performed by Sikhs on different occasions. All these ceremonies are of common nature. They remind us of the truth and reality and the relation of man with God. They are means to an end which is union of soul with the Lord. On all occasions, happy or otherwise, hymns from *Sri Guru Granth Sahib* are recited and prayer is offered to the *Akalpurkh*. *Shabad* is of greater importance than rituals and is recited to remember God.

8

The Five Symbols

It was March 30, 1699. The most significant and memorable day in the history of the Sikhs. A large number of Sikhs from all parts of the country had assembled at Anandpur at the call of Guru Gobind Singh. A new order of Khalsa was created on this auspicious day. Five Sikhs offered themselves to the Guru when he baptised them the next day on the first of Baisakh B.S. 1756. The creation of Khalsa was a natural sequence to and culmination of all that had happened before in the development of Sikh religion. Guru Nanak preached brotherly love for all human beings and remembering the Name of One Supreme Being, the Creator—all powerful, pervading and omnipresent. He explained in simple language the basic ideals of life and the concept of God and the Guru. He made it clear that man and universe were indivisible. He asked people to shun rituals as by good deeds alone man could attain salvation. It was not necessary to renounce home or practise asceticism; God could be remembered all the time.

Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth Master, applied these teachings in his own life. He was deeply devoted to God's Name and bestowed unstinted love on his followers. He was like father to his Sikhs, their true king and Guru who felt the need for binding the Sikhs into a family of brothers and sisters. He declared: "I wish you all embrace one creed and follow one path, obliterating all difference of religion. Let the four castes, which have separate

rules of conduct abandon them altogether, adopt the way of cooperation and mix freely with one another. Let no one deem himself superior to the other. Do not follow the old scriptures. Let none pay heed to the Ganges and other places of pilgrimage which are considered holy in the Hindu religion, or adore the Hindu deities, but all should believe in Guru Nanak and his successors. Let men of the four castes receive my baptism, eat out of the same vessel and feel no disgust or contempt for one another."

The Guru's baptism was the rebirth of the whole Sikh people, with their solidarity and brotherhood affirmed and established for all time. The Guru said: "The manner of initiation in the past has been for the disciples to drink the water which the Guru had touched with his toe. It developed humility. But times have changed. Now fearless bravery and skill in arms are needed for the defence of the faith and the nation, which from today will be called the Khalsa Panth. Now, I shall substitute *Charan Pahul* with *Khande-Ka-Amrit*, the system of baptism by water which has been stirred with the double-edged sword. This nectar with steel, the Divine word, and my spirit dissolved in it, shall work a miraculous change in those who partake of it. They shall shed all weakness and become brave as lions. They shall call themselves not mere Sikhs or disciples, but also Singhs or lions. They will be as brave as, nay, braver than the Rajputs whose names also end in Singh. I shall transform jackals into lions. All castes are equally welcome, for I want all castes to disappear and weld themselves into a single brotherhood where the lowest is equal to the highest."

After the Guru's address, the five beloved ones, who had offered themselves for sacrifice a day before, stood in a queue. The Guru put some pure water in an iron pan, stirred it with a double-eged sword and recited hymns from the holy *Granth, Japji, Anand Jap,* ten *Sawayyas* and *Chaupayas*. When the Guru was still stirring the water, Mata Sahib Dewan, the mother of the Khalsa came with some sugar crystals which the Guru put into the vessel. This meant that the Guru's Sikhs were blessed not only with valour and courage but also with sweetness.

The Guru then stood before the five beloved ones with the iron pan in his hands and showering *Amrit* on their faces one by one, asked them to say loudly Wah-i-Guru Ji Ka Khalsa; Wah-i-

Guru Ji Ki Fateh (The Khalsa belongs to God—Victory to God). He then gave them five handfuls of *Amrit* to drink from the same vessel to create the spirit of oneness and brotherhood.

After the ceremony, the Guru himself requested the five beloveds with folded hands to initiate him in the same manner as they had been initiated by him. The Guru emphasised that the new order was created under the orders of the Lord. There would be no high or low from that day. Those who accepted this would be the Guru and the Guru, the Khalsa. There would be no difference between the two. The Guru was initiated and now they mingled into one. They were the Khalsa of the Guru.

The Guru ordered that all the Sikhs should be baptised. They were told to wear the five K's namely, *Kesh* (long hair), *Kanga* (comb), *Kachchha* (underwear), *Kara* (iron bangle) and a *Kirpan* (sword). They were to be called Singhs or lions; Kaur was to be affixed at the end of the names of women.

The Sikhs were to negate all divisions of caste, creed or colour. They were to serve all human beings with love and selflessness and strive for realising perfect Divine unity, both for their own salvation and for others.

Thus, the Guru abolished all customs and castes, beliefs, rituals and superstitions of the Hindus and welded his followers into a single brotherhood. No one was to be superior or inferior to the other. Men of all castes were to eat out of the same bowl. This brotherhood in faith was also to be a brotherhood in arms.

The Sikhs were further ordained to worship one God and to repeat the prayer and meditate on God's Name every day.

The Sikh must discard his former caste and should not perform the old *rites* and ceremonies.

He must not commit any of the four misdeeds or *Kurahats*—shaving or trimming the hair, eating meat of animals killed in Muslim style, smoking tobacco or taking intoxicants, committing adultery or living immorally.

He must contribute one-tenth of his income, earned honestly with his hard labour, for the spread of his religion.

He must serve the *sangat*, without expecting any reward whatsoever.

He must defend the weak, the poor and the women and fight for justice and freedom of worship.

In the end, the Guru ordained his Sikhs to fulfil his spiritual

obligations. He said:

> "He who repeateth night and day the Name of God,
> who hath full love and confidence in Him;
> who giveth not even a moment's thought except
> On Lord.
> He who adorneth himself with perfect Love and faith
> and putteth not his trust in fasts, tombs,
> crematoriums and hermitages even by mistake.
> In pilgrimages, in charities, in acts of mercy.
> in austerities and in self-restraints knoweth none save him.
> When light shineth within him, then a man may be
> deemed a pure Khalsa."
>
> 33 *Sawayyas* I

Guru Gobind Singh further emphasised:

> "A Singh who maintains discipline should
> earn his living by lawful means;
> He should manage the needs of his household
> from such income;
> And even by mistake should not accept offerings.
> He should not look at offerings in a temple.
> The Guru has described it as the greatest sin."
>
> *Rehat Nama* Desa Singh

And:

> "A Sikh may earn his livelihood by farming, trade or craft
> or by any other service to the community which he
> likes best.
> He must persist in the work he chooses but never
> commit theft or dacoity."
>
> *Rehat Nama* Desa Singh

Again:

> "Do not trust him who doth not donate one-
> tenth of his income and eats whatever he earns
> by falsehood, hear, O Nand Lal! says Guru Gobind Singh
> That he who does not put into the community fund a
> portion of his income and engages in deceitful
> methods of business will have to pass through
> a thousand hells."
>
> *Tankhanama Bhai* Nand Lal

The Sikh symbols were not conceived in a spirit of

exclusiveness, they were made to serve as an aid to preservation of corporate life of the community; anyone who wants to save humanity through the Sikh *Panth* can wear them. It is possible for a person to love God and cultivate this individual soul without wearing these symbols, but if he wants to work in a systematic way not only for his own spiritual advancement but for the welfare of others as well in the company of the Sikhs he must wear these symbols.

The Sikhs who are saint-solidiers of Guru Gobind Singh and whose religion is surcharged with the Guru's dominating personality, find the forms and symbols ordained by him a real help in playing their part as corporate unit—the Panthic organisation.

The baptismal forms, with the accompanying vows, have helped the Sikhs to remain united and keep their ideals unsullied even in times of the greatest trials and tribulations. While keeping the Sikhs associated with the Guru and maintaining his spirit among them, these symbols have not produced any narrowing effect on their beliefs and modes of worship. On the other hand, changes for the worse have always synchronised with lack of insistence on baptismal vows. In such times, the Sikhs lost their identity as Sikhs had become superstitious about God and in their beliefs. With baptismal vows, they again started believing that God is one and there is no prayer more pleasing to him than soulful singing of the Guru's hymns.

The Five K's are the symbols of Sikh individuality. If they do not wear the five K's, their revolutionary zeal will disappear—the spirit which saved Hinduism from extinction during those stormy days of the Mughal rule. They gave strength to the Sikhs to bear the brunt of the wrath of tyrannical rulers and helped them uproot the foundations of the Mughal empire.

The five K's are the symbol of Sikh solidarity, unity and strength. Through these they develop and maintain their association with the Guru. Sikhs believe that as is God so is the Guru and so must be the follower. Hence the essentiality for a Sikh to conform to the rules of conduct laid down by the Guru. They were devised for the preservation of the community and anybody who likes to save his fellow-beings of the Guru through the *Panth* is expected to conform to the requirement of five K's.

The social significance of the symbols arises from the Sikh spiritual ideal, which comprehends the secular as well as the spiritual good."Comfortable in this world and easy in hereafter. The Lord Himself will accept you in His Grace." It is amply demonstrated through the centuries that spirituality crumbled under pressure of force and coercion and discipline was able to combat force. But the force that the spiritual fraternity would employ would be superior to that of aggression in many respects; it will be physically superior; it will be better organised on a moral basis and it will be restrained by a consciously accepted discipline from operating beyond the limits of subserving the spiritual aim.

For all well-established and sound organisations, an outward visible form is needed. That the community of outward form bestows upon a group of individuals greater strength by promoting among them a sense of unity is universally recognised.

The Sikh symbols constitute the uniform of the Khalsa fraternity which is wedded to the idea of struggle for the attainment of goodness and justice, for the promotion of spiritual aim of the merging of the individual self into the universal spirit. This outward uniform promoted social cohesion and yielded considerable organisational advantages.

Taken individually, the symbols have great significance, for they represent, outwardly, the qualities which a Sikh should cultivate inwardly. By keeping them on his person a Sikh is helped in his resolve to cultivate them in his soul. Taken collectively, the five K's are as a common denominator binding the Sikhs together into a brotherhood of the people all striving to reach the same religious objectives. By wearing the symbols, the Sikhs all resemble their Master and they also resemble each other as brothers of the same family. The symbols also serve the purpose of a uniform, which is the basic element for infusing the spirit of oneness and of purpose in any well-organised army.

Keshas (hair)

Now we come to the necessity, significance and description of each K. The first and foremost importance is of *Keshas*. This fact is fully borne out by Sikh tradition. Being nature's gift preservation of *Keshas* gives their wearer a look of sagacity,

scholarship, bravery and manliness. With *Keshas*, man looks like a lion and thunders like him. The custom of keeping long and unshorn hair is, therefore, among the most cherished and distinctive signs of an individuals's membership of Khalsa brotherhood. At the time of baptism the Sikh is impressed upon to keep the hair unshorn.

The cultural association of hair with sacred ideas is known in many parts of the world. It is well recognised in general terms to be a symbol of manliness, virility, honour and power. In early Europe, the Achaeans who conquered Greece, kept long hair customarily. The Semitic story of Samson and Delilah, as stated in the Old Testament, will illustrate the virtue of keeping long hair. There are many such notable examples in classical Hinduism also. Manu stated clearly that even if man be in wrath, he should not seize another person by the hair. When a *Brahmin* committed an offence for which the members of other castes were liable to death, his hair should be shaven off as sufficient punishment.

The *Keshas* have spiritual significance, too. They have a spiritual value though this value cannot be measured in concrete terms. That is why *Keshas* were held in high veneration in ancient times. *Rishis, munis, yogis* and saints and other men of knowledge preserved their *Keshas*, because they were a symbol of spirituality. This view also is supported by scriptures. *Valmiki Ramayana* states that one should always endeavour to have long and black hair. Numerous verses in *Bhagvad Gita* and *Manu Smriti* explain that the cutting of human hair was considered a great insult, it was also the punishment awarded for committing serious crimes.

Prophet Mohammed also kept and adored long unshorn hair. In the holy *Quran,* he had ordained his disciples to abstain from shaving to complete their *Haj* and to receive the Grace of God. Like the *Quran,* the Hebrew scriptures also forbid the shaving of human hair. Jesus Christ too preserved long hair. The holy *Bible* says that when Jesus was presented before a judge, the latter said that the hair and beard of Jesus signify his greatness but he was bound to punish him as Christ had violated the rules of society. Lord Buddha also supported the practice of keeping long hair: ' What harm have your hair done? Cut away your misdeeds and sins instead.'

Keshas continued to be a symbol of spirituality for many hundred years. But for Sikhs they are of spiritual value mainly because of their association with the Sikh Gurus.

Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikh faith, wore long hair. All his successors did likewise. When Bhai Nand Lal met Guru Hari Rai, the seventh Master, he is said to have declared: "At first do not cut the hair."

Like his predecessors, the tenth Master, Guru Gobind Singh kept long hair and beard. He was an undisputed spiritual guide and his dominating personality always signified his spirituality. In order to follow him in character and in spirit, his followers realised that it would be easier for them to emulate the qualities of the great Guru if they could begin by looking like their Guru. Being in the image of the Guru would certainly have its spiritual impact on them. Therefore, in making the wearing of long hair one of the conditions for those taking the baptismal initiation of *amrit*, the Guru was causing them to take the first step in a general spiritual regeneration.

With the creation of Khalsa, the spiritual impact of long hair for Sikhs became so great that they began to prefer death to the sacrifice of their hair. Among those who sacrificed their lives for preserving their hair are Bhai Mani Singh, Bhai Taru Singh, Bhai Mati Das and Bhai Dayala. They are among the hundreds of devout Sikhs who laid down their lives to preserve the sanctity of their hair.

There is a social aspect of keeping long hair too. For all remarkable organisations some form of external symbols is indispensable. Existence of some outward visible form promotes a sense of unity and consequently greater strength is ensured among the members of that organisation.

Keeping of long unshorn hair has promoted social cohesion and has yielded considerable organisational advantages amongst the Sikhs. Various episodes of Sikh history clearly prove the truth of this statement. History also bears testimony to the fact that Sikhism flourished even under adverse circumstances when the *Keshas* were strictly preserved by the Sikhs. So, in a way promotion of social harmony and organisational efficiency is a strong argument in favour of keeping long hair.

The metaphysical significance of the *Keshas* arises from the Sikhs' spiritual ideal of growing into Divine to approximate in

virtue to the concept of the Divine self. *Keshas* being a fast growing part of the human body, they signify the Sikhs belief in growth as opposed to belief in renunciation of the mundane world as a path to salvation.

"The reason why the Guru forbade shingle and shaving are grounded in metaphysical postulates of transcendental aesthetics, in the basic aims and objects of the Khalsa brotherhood which seeks to show human beings path to liberation and self-realisation through organised social and political activity, in contradiction to the renunciation of the world and non-cooperation with the generative impulses of the universe and thirdly and lastly in the cultivation of a natural and integrated personality which deliberately outgrows personal vanity and boyishness and accepts the principle of growth and aging as fundamental to religious discipline."

The *Keshas* are also of utmost importance for all Sikhs from the psychological point of view. Unshorn hair, including untrimmed beards, make Sikhs a very conspicuous people because of their appealing appearance. A turbaned Sikh can be easily spotted in a multitude of people.

The *Keshas* play a very vital role in physical well being, they can be considered almost indispensable for maintaining health and vitality. If we consider various functions of the Keshas from a scientific point of view, it would become clear that they act as a shield to protect us from numerous health hazards. They provide protection to the head from excessive heat or cold. Luxuriant growth of hair on the scalp protects the head from scorching rays of the sun by acting as a 'cooler.' Conversely, when there is excessive cold or wind, Keshas protect the head by changing their function to that of a 'heater.'

The *Keshas* act as a gateway for solar nutrition. Sunshine causes the formation of solar nutrition or vitamin D in the hair which is carried by the blood stream to different parts of the body. If a person receives sufficient amount of vitamin D in this way, he need not take much dosage of this vitamin in his diet.

The scalp hair forms a protective cushion on the head and minimises the effects of trauma. Hair in and around openings, such as eyebrows and eye-lashes and hair in the nostrils and external ear carnals protect the structures around which they are located against minor external harmful influences.

In the end, we conclude that *Keshas* are a symbol of masculinity and strength. The tenth Master ordained his Sikhs to wear long hair and keep them till their death even if they had to make sacrifice for retaining them.

Kanga (comb)

The second K which every Sikh must wear is *Kanga* (comb). It is required for keeping the hair clean and tidy. It grooms the hair, keeps the knot firmly in place and symbolises the discipline of the mind. By keeping the comb a Sikh is reminded to keep his mind under control so that his thoughts do not wander aimlessly and the mind remains orderly and disciplined. The spirit through intuition should rule the intellect and the intellect should rule the emotions.

The *Keshas* and the *Kanga* thus form a unitary pair or symbols, each evoking the meaning of the other and their mutual association explains the full meaning of *Keshas* as distinct from *Jata*. The *Jata*, like the shaven head symbolises renunciation of social citizenship; *Keshas* and *Kanga* symbolise its orderly assumption.

Kara (steel bangle)

The steel bangle binds the Sikhs with a strong unbreakable link to his faith, to the Khalsa and his brother Sikhs. The complete unbroken circle symbolises the unbroken continuity of existence. Life is not something which began in the past, exists for a while and ends at some time in the future. The spiritual reality of life exists continuously, free of both time and space. All appearances are subject to change, but change is only on the surface, like ripples on the sea. No point on the circumference of a circle can be called the beginning or end of it, so by wearing the *Kara*, the Sikh is reminded to cultivate in himself the awareness of immortality and timelessness. Steel is symbolic of strength yet resilient under stress. In the same way, human soul must become as strong and unbreakable as steel which has been tempered in the furnace.

Thus *Kara* is a *chakra* which in ancient religious lore is accepted as the symbol of *dharma*. The words *Dharmachakra* and *Chakravarti raja*, the monarch who discharges his duties of government efficiently and diligently, signify *chakra*. The *Kara*

keeps a Sikh reminded of his double duty, to strive for attainment of spiritual aspirations and to be a useful and law-abiding citizen.

Kirpan (sword)

The *Kirpan* (sword and *Kara* (bangle) can be taken together. The steel bangle imparts the same orderly control over the sword as the *Kanga* does over the *Keshas*.

The *Kirpan* is symbolic of three main features—cutting the *avidya* to separate the transient individual self from the immortal universal self; preference for open combat as against secret attack for which straight pointed blade is employed; and declaration of sovereignty over oneself which non-acceptance of restriction on wearing of arms implies.

The sword is also a symbol of freedom from oppression and servility. Its obvious meaning was for self-defence and individual freedom and self-respect embodied in the right to bear arms. The deeper spiritual meaning of the *Kirpan* is that it is symbolic of the triumph of transcendental knowledge over ignorance and darkness. The sword, in the mind, cuts at the roots of ignorance, evil and worldly attachment and destroys them utterly.

Guru Gobind Singh himself worshipped the sword. He said:

"Eternal God, thou art our shield,
The dagger, knife, the sword the wield,
To us Protector that is given,
The Timeless, deathless, Lord of heaven;
To us all—steel's unvanquished might,
To us all—time's resistless flight
But chiefly Thou, Protector of brave,
All steel, wilt Thine own servants save."

—*Akal Ustat*

He has justified the use of sword for the protection of *dharma* when all other methods of peaceful negotiation fail for seeking justice. He said:

Cu Kar az hama hilate dar guzast
halal ast burdan ba samsir dast.

This means that when all avenues have been explored, all means tried, it is rightful to draw the sword out of the scabbard and wield it with your hand.

Kachchha (underwear)

By adopting the small underwear, it was intended to symbolise the spiritual and mental breakaway from traditional dress and thought. The mind was to be free from the bonds of superstition and the Sikhs were thus to be released from immature and effeminate submissiveness. They were destined to become mature, solid, brave and courageous soldiers. They were to be self-control-led, chaste and chivalrous.

In short, *Kachchha* is an agent of restraint like the *Kanga* and the *Kara*. It is a symbol signifying manly reserve in commitment to the procreative world as against renouncing it.

Thus, the primary meaning of the five symbols, the significance of which has been explained above, lies in the ritual combination of two different forces. The long hair and the sword express the first aspect. They are assertive of forceful human potentialities. The comb, the bangle and the underwear express the second aspect, that is, of moral constraint and discrimination The aspect of assertion and the constraint jointly produce what is called a spirit of affirmation which is a major characteristic of the Sikhs.

A Sikh should earn his livelihood by honest means. In order to lay the basis for equitable distribution of material resources and earnings in society, productive hard labour is the pre-requisite for each constituent member of the Khalsa. "Each for all and all for each" is of significance if each member of the order puts in and contributes his best physical endeavour in the common social pool. Man must earn by the sweat of his brow. Once Guru Gobind Singh was sitting in *sangat* (congregation). His devotees from far and near had gathered. All of a sudden, the Guru asked for water. A number of Sikhs ran to fetch a glass of water. A rich person was the first to present him a tumbler full of water. While so doing, he said "O my Lord, it is for the first time that I giving water to anybody. I belong to such an opulent family that never before have I done this with my own hands." On hearing this, the Guru threw away the tumbler of water and admonished the young man: "You are sinful. Your

hands are polluted. You have not redered useful service to anyone or utilised this precious gift of God for any productive work. I won't accept water from your hands." This incident opened the eyes of all the devotees. The Guru exhorted his followers to engage themselves in some kind of productive labour which should be of service to society.

The basic creative attribute of the Lord in Sikh faith explains the general creative genius and approach of an average Sikh in all temporal aspects of the community's existence. Bhai Gurdas said:

"Cursed are one's hands and feet
without service and in the absence thereof
all other religious deeds of persons are of no use."

Guru Nanak laid great emphasis on this aspect. He said:

"In order to merit recognition
in the next world,
It is imperative to render service in this world."

All Sikhs should share their earnings with others. They should at least spend one-tenth (*daswandh*) of their earnings in charity for a noble cause."Whatever a Sikh earns through honest means, he should deposit in cash or kind in the common pool and from that common pool gladly accept his sustenance including food and clothing. Every Sikh should contribute something for running *Guru-ka-langar*. He should take food in the *langar* and then say: "O Guru, provisions are thine, only devoted service thereof falls to our part. We have taken meals from Thy cauldron. Keep thy Khalsa's *deg* (the common cauldron) and *tegh* (sword for righteous cause) always on the upgrade. We must meditate on Thy Name and engender in our heart full faith of Thy pious feet in thanks-giving."

Lastly, Guru Nanak exhorted his disciplines not to renounce the world. He condemned renunciation and running away from the realities of life. There is no need to go to forests or mountains. One should live in the world, meditate on His Name and control one's senses. Even by continuing to live in the family, one can remain a good person. Guru Nanak said:

"As the lotus lives in water detached,
As the duck floats without drenching,

So does one cross the ocean of life.
If one's mind is attuned to the word
One lives in detachment, enshrines the Lord in his mind.
Short of hope, lives in the midst of hope,
And sees the unperceivable and unfathomable."

—Guru Nanak—*Ramkali*

9

Concept of Guru in Sikhism

Guru Nanak thought of God as the Supreme Being who was universal, all powerful and truthful. He believed that Truth was greater than all the sacrifices one could make and pilgrimages to holy places and considered the love of God better than all the religious *rites* and ceremonies one performed. The other Gurus only preached Guru Nanak's teachings and made his thinking the basis of all their utterances.

Guru Nanak's basic thought on God can be summed up in just two words, Unity and Fraternity. His concept of Unity is given in the Preamble to *Japji*:

"There is but one God
His Name is true
He is the Creator,
Devoid of fear and enmity.
He is omnipresent,
He is immortal, unborn.
Nor does He die to be born again.
He was true in the beginning,
The true one was when time began to run its course.
He was the truth,
He is true now,
And truth shall ever prevail."

Guru Nanak's concept of God is in fact neither purely theism nor pantheism. In Sikhism God means that He is one, the Creator and the Destroyer and He creates everything out of His self. Just as Darwin gave us the doctrine of the evolution of species, so did Nanak proclaim, "not the creation of Nature by the All powerful out of nothing, but the infinite division of His own essence into a plurality of forms."

Thus, it can be said that though God creates His self yet it is different from God. When this is destroyed the phenomenon as a separate existence ceases, but God still exists. "The Gurus have combined the Aryan idea of immanence with the semitic idea of transcendence without taking away anything from the unity and the personal character of God."

Guru Nanak's God is formless; still He can be seen clearly. According to Cunningham, "He is all love and pervades here and there in the four quarters and the four corners in the form of love. Instead of circumscribed divinity, the anthropomorphous God of Ramananda and Kabir, he loftily invokes the Lord as the one, the sole, the timeless being; the Creator, the self-existent, the incomprehensible, and the everlasting."

Thus, "for Nanak there was no such thing as a God for the Hindus, a God for the Mohammedans and a God or gods for the other heathens; for him there was but one God, not in the likeness of man, like Rama; not a creature of attributes and passions like the Allah of Muhammad; but one sole, indivisible, self-existent, incomprehensible, timeless, all pervading—to be named but otherwise indescribable and altogether lovely. Such was Nanak's idea of the Creator and Sustainer of the phenomenal world, and it was a conception which at once abrogated all petty distinctions of creed, and sect, and dogma, and ceremony."

In Sikhism, God is described as *nirgun* or absolute, and *sagun* or personal. According to Prof. Teja Singh, "Before there was any creation God lived absolutely in Himself, but when he thought of making Himself manifest in creation. He became related. In the former case, when God was Himself self-created, there was none else; He took counsel and advice with Himself; what He did came to pass. Then there was no heaven, or hell, or the three-regioned world. There was only the Formless One Himself; creation was not there. (*Gujri-ki-Var* of Guru Amar

Das). There was no sin, no virtue, no *Veda* or any other religious book, no caste, no sex (Guru Nanak's *Maru Sohle*, 15 and Guru Arjan's *Sukhmani*, 21). When God became *sagun* or manifest, He became what is called the Name, and in order to realise Himself, He made Nature wherein He has His seat and is diffused everywhere and in all directions in the form of love (Guru Gobind Singh's *Jap*, 80).

In Sikhism, God is not an abstract idea or just a moral force, but a personal Being capable of being loved and honoured and yet diffused all over the creation. He is the common father of all, fashioning worlds and supporting them from inside, but He does not take birth. He has no incarnations. He Himself stands for the creative agencies, like the *maya*, the word and Brahma; He himself is Truth, Beauty and the eternal yearning of the heart after goodness.

"If by pilgrimages, austerities and charities
given through pity, one obtaineth any honour, it is little, infinitesmal.
He who heard of Him and submitted unto His will with love in his mind, hath washed of all impurities in the holy pilgrimage placed within.
All virtues are Thine, O Lord.
None have I my own. And without Thy bestowing virtues, spiritual devotion evolveth not.
From Thee, O Lord, self-existent in perfect Bliss,
emanated *Maya*—the illusion. Then rang the first
world producing Brahma with the rest of the
creation following, Eternal is the Beauty!
Eternal is the Ecstasy of Mind!
What was the occasion, what the time, what that date and that day, what season was it and what month it was, when all that hath form was first created?
The learned *pandits* knew not that occasion; had they known, they would have recorded it in the *Puranas*, the holy scriptures of the Hindus. Nor did the wise *Qazis*—who wrote commentaries on the *Quran*, the holy book of the Muslims—find that time.
The *Yogi*—the ascetic—too nor anyone can know that date or that day or that season or that month! The Creator

alone who fashioned this universe knoweth it. Then in what words mayst I speak of Him? How mayst I praise Him? What description mayst I give of Him? And how mayst I know of Him?

O Nanak, every one for speaking speaketh, each wiser than the other.

But Great is the Lord and Great is His Name, whose Will is done. He who knoweth the ego in Him hath no honour ahead, O Nanak"

—*Japji*, 21

In brief, we can say that God is the Creator of all things—*Karta Purkh*:

"He is self-created and self-existent;
He is not subject to death or birth."

He is autonomous. He does not consult anyone. He acts independently.

He is the source and goal of all. There can be no spark without fire, no soul without fire, no soul without the Universal soul. He is possible without creation, though creation is not possible without Him. God is the source of all good. He is all-pervading. All is God. There is nothing but God.

God is infinite. He can only known Himself. Nobody can describe His greatness:

"There is no limit of His virtues;
Nor any limit to speak of them.
There is no limit to what He doeth;
Nor any limit to what He giveth.
There is no limit to what He seeth;
Nor any limit to what He heareth.
No limit is known to what is innermost in his mind.
No limit is known to what of form
He hath created;
Nor is any limit known to His this or that end
For the sake of fathoming the unfathomable,
several seekers have cried in agony
But His limit wouldst not be ever known.
The infinity of the Infinite none shalt fathom
The more thou speakest the more doeth it become!

Great is the Lord and high His seat;
And higher than the high is *Nam*
If there be one so great and high,
He alone wouldst know the Highest of the high
How Great He is, He Himself knowth by Himself.
O Nanak, He the kind and merciful Lord bestoweth
His ever flowing bounties by His Grace and kindness."

—*Japji*, 24

God is All-knowing. He sees and understands all. He is everywhere, within and without:

"O crooked heart! Thy Master is seeing act of Thine,
Whatever thou doest, He is beholding
And nothing is concealed from Him."

—*Rag Sorath*

He knows all the evil deeds of man, but does not withhold bread or money from the sinner in His spate of anger. He is omniscient who knows everything in advance and fathoms the innermost secrets and still maintaints an impartial and detached attitude.

God is True. He is and ever shall be. He alone will outlive Time and Eternity. He is real and everlasting.

God is All-giver. God bestows His gifts on whom He pleases. Even punishment or misery which comes from Him is blessed. God is All-adorable. All His creations worship Him.

"The entire sky is the salver
The moon and the sun are the lamps.
The luminous stars are studded in it like jewels.
The winds waft the scent of all the flowers on earth,
The incense is the scent of the sandalwood from *Malai*
Thus is His worship performed, O thou the destroyer of births,
And the unstruck melody of His word ringeth through the universe,
Millions are Thy eyes and yet thou hast no eyes.
Millions are Thy forms and yet thou hast no form
Millions are Thy feet and yet thou hast no feet,
Millions are Thy noses and yet thou hast no nose.
O wonder of wonders.

Thou art the spirit that pervadeth all.
Thou art the light that lighteth all hearts.
All through the Guru's instructions this light is illuminated
O people, that alone is worship which pleaseth my Lord.
Like the honey bee my mind cherishes for the honey of His lotus feet
O Lord, quench the thirst of Nanak, the *sarang*, O Lord of Bliss
So that he mergeth in His Name."

—Guru Nanak, *Rag Dhanasari*

God is just. He does not take sides. In His eyes, all are equal. He treats everybody alike. He does justice to all. He knows the Truth. He does not discriminate—He is *Nirvair*.

God is Love. He is present here and everywhere in the form of Love. None can realise Him without love. Those alone who love Him shall find Him:

"The gods, the demons of the mountains,
the inhabitants of the nether world and
the most renowned *Sidhs* all undergo various penances.
The *Vedas*, the *Puranas* and the *Quran* are tired of singing His attributes.
He cannot be comprehended.
He knows the hearts of the inhabitants of this world, of the heavens, of the nether regions, of the four
Quarters and of the four corners.
His glory is enveloping the whole earth.
Why, O mind, dost thou tell me of any other."

—Guru Gobind Singh, *33 Sawayyas 9*

God is omnipotent. He is all-powerful. He has the power to dissolve the universe. He is not subject to the law of *Karma*.

Several Names have been given to God, but actually He is *Satnam*, the eternal and absolute truth. In the scriptures, God is called by the names of incarnations, *Avtars*. The Gurus used all these names for the one Supreme Being—*Bhagwan, Brahma, Gobind, Gopal, Hari, Krishna, Mukand, Madho, Murari, Narayan, Parmeshwar Dev, Vasudev*. Similarly, the Muslim names of *Allah, Haq, Karim, Khuda-Pak, Rab* and *Rahim* stand for the Supreme Being. The Sikh Gurus, however, did not believe in the incarna-

tions of God in any human form.

There are two types of God's Names—the Attributive Name which describes the power of God and the True Name which emanates from the Guru's personal experience and vision of the Divine Being. The Name is contemplated and repeated in the inner consciousness of deep meditation.

The Guru

In Sikhism, the personality of the Guru is all along operative in the career of the disciple, commanding his whole being and shaping his life. Without the Guru there would be no cohesion, no direction in the moral forces of society, and in spite of vast knowledge there would be darkness all round. There would be no link to connect men with men and then with God. Without the Guru everybody would exist for himself in moral degeneration. It is the Guru who removes the barriers of caste and position set up by men among themselves and gathering them all into himself unites them with God. In the process are laid the foundations of the purified who as an organised force strive for the good of the whole human race.

Prof. Teja Singh says: "The Guru is sinless. In order, however, to be really effective in saving man, he must not be above man's capacity to imitate, as he would be if he were a supernatural being. His humanity must be real and not feigned. He should have a nature subject to the same laws as operative in the ordinary human nature, and should have attained his perfection through the same grace as is available to all men and through perfect obedience to God's will. The Sikh Gurus had fought sin and had overcome it. Some of them had lived for a long time in error, until grace touched them and they were perfected through a constant discipline of knowledge, love and experience in the association of their Gurus. When they had been completely attuned to the will divine and were sanctified as Gurus, there remained no defect in them and they became perfect and holy. Thereafter sins did come to tempt them, but they never gave way and were always able to overcome them. It is only thus that they became perfect exemplars of men and transformed those who came under their influence to veritable angelic beings."

The Guru impersonally resting in God and His wisdom was

a perfect channel for the expression of the Divine Will for the understanding of human intellect and through him God poured forth into the world, Divine Word, mixed with sweet love and light.

The spirit of God resides in all the human beings. But in the Guru the Divine Spirit finds its expression. In others it is not visible on account of their egoism. Egoism is always due to *maya* which keeps human beings ignorant of the light within their heart. It (*maya*) leads one from one sin to another.

The Guru must be perfect in all respects. If the ideal Guru is imperfect, the society and the individuals who constitute it will not be able to develop their personality. Their development will remain imperfect.

The Sikh Gurus were perfect and are described as such in *Sri Guru Granth Sahib*. Guru Nanak, the founder of the faith, said: "Everybody else is subject to error" (*Sri Rag*). He declares unequivocally that without the Guru there can be no salvation. In the hymns of Guru Nanak as a whole it has been specifically made clear that the Guru is the communicator between God and man and the medium through which the Word and the Grace of God are made available to all men. Without the Word none can be saved and it is only the Guru who communicates the Word of God. "The Guru is the boat of salvation, a ladder to reach one's home, a key to open the lock, a unifier of man and God" and so on. For man shall not be emancipated without the Guru's instructions, even though man performed hundreds of thousands of ceremonies, all would still be in darkness without the Guru.

The Guru is thus indispensable, yet he is not an end in himself but only a means, though the sole means, for the attainment of salvation. Guru Amar Das said:

"Whoever turneth away from the true Guru,
shall not obtain salvation without him;
Nor shall he obtain salvation elsewhere—go inquire of persons of discrimination—
He shall wander in many births, and not obtain deliverance without the true Guru;
But he shall at last obtain deliverance by attaching himself to the feet of the true Guru who will communicate

to him the Word.
Sayeth Nanak, thoroughly reflect on this—there can be no deliverance without the true Guru."

—*Anand*

The Guru attains perfection and makes others perfect. Guru Arjan said:

"God does not die, nor do I fear death.
He does not perish, not do I grieve.
He is not poor, nor do I have hunger.
He has no pain, nor have I any trouble.
There is no destroyer except God,
Who is my life and who gives me life.
He has no hand, nor have I got any
He has no entanglement, nor have I any care.
As He is stainless, so am I free from stain.
As He is happy, so am I always rejoicing.
He has no anxiety, nor have I any concern.
As He is not defiled, so am I not polluted.
As He has no craving, so do I covet nothing.
He is pure, and I too suit Him in this.
I am nothing: He alone is everything.
All around is the same He.
Nanak, the Guru has destroyed all my supersitions and defects,
And I have become uniformly one with Him."

—*Asa*

To remove the filth of centuries, the soul needs the help and assistance of the Guru. The Guru is an intermediary between God and Creation. It is so ordained by God. The Guru is created by the Lord Almighty. He is the bridge between God and man. The Guru forms the staircase to lift man to God. The Guru is the ship that carries man across the ocean of life. The Guru is the light of the world, his teachings banish the darkness of the soul. He sheds light all the time.

The Guru's sun must rise in man's soul, otherwise he remains spiritually blind. Nobody can realise truth without the

Master. God enshrines Himself in the Guru and has manifested Himself through the Guru. Guru Nanak said:

"If thou wanderest throughout the world in search of relief
The fire of *maya* is not extinguished.
The inner dirt is not washed out
That life is cursed and the manner it lives is condemned.
Thou can't worship God.
Without the Guru's Word.
O man! quench the fire of desire with the help of the Guru.
And fill thy mind with the Word and rend asunder
The veil of ego that hides the truth from thee."

—*Sri Rag*

Guru Ram Das said:

"The Guru is like philosopher's stone
And men are like the iron ore;
O God, grant that one meets such a person
That the iron in us may be turned into gold
The Guru gives us the Divine light.
The human life then becomes beautiful and godly."

—*Thukhari*

In Sikhism, transformation comes not only through a close association with the Guru but through belief in Sikhism, for the Sikh incorporates the Guru. He fills himself with the Guru and feels linked up with an inexhaustible source of power. According to Guru Gobind Singh, "the *Khalsa* is my other self; in him I live and have my being." A great love exists between the Guru and the Sikh. But the homage paid to the Guru was made impersonal by creating mystic unity between the Sikh and the Guru on the one hand and the Guru and the Word on the other. "The Guru is a Sikh and the Sikh who practises the Guru's word is at one with the Guru."

Thus, the Sikh congregation acquired great sanctity owing to the belief that the spirit of the Guru lived and moved among them. These congregations began to assume higher and higher authority until collectively the whole body called the *Panth* came to be regarded as an embodiment of the Guru. Guru Gobind

Singh himself received baptism from the Sikhs initiated by him. After him the Sikhs ceased to have any personal Guru. After Guru Gobind Singh, the personality and the Word were separated. The *Panth* was invested with personality of the Guru and the incorporated Word became the *Gyan Guru*. The *Khalsa Panth* became the Guru and it was invariably to guide itself by the teachings of the Gurus as found in *Sri Guru Granth Sahib*.

10

The Islam

Iranis or Persians

The cultural link between India and Iran had been renewed with the advent of Islam[1] to Hindustan. During the early period of Muslim conquest, the Turks and Afghans were the muscle; whereas the Persians supplied the brain of the Muslim ruling aristocracy of India. A century of ascendancy of the Buddhist Mongols in the Middle East since the rise of Chengiz Khan, drove a large number of Muslims to seek a safe home in Hindustan, whose capital of Delhi in the time of Sultan Iltutmish was a cosmopolitan Muslim city having a separate *mohalla* assigned to the emigrants from every Islamic country.[2] The Persian culture showed a greater vitality in the Middle East than even the Arab culture, if there was any such thing in Islam.[3] An analysis of the literary and cultural contributions of Islam to Medieval India on a racial basis would easily prove the Iranian predominance throughout. This was due to large influx of the Iranian middle class and intellientsia to Hindustan since the beginning of the Muslim conquest. The Shias[4] had an advantage in Hindustan, because the Muslims were fewer and the Shia-Sunni bitterness less keen in their new home. Only a narrow bigot like Sultan Firoz Tughlaq occasionally thought of penalising Shi-ism.[5] The regency of Bairam Khan in a Sunni Sultanate indicates a high water-mark of the Shia influence at Court. But this influence was not at the beginning aggressive and intolerable

to the Sunnis, because in a Sunni country, the Shia could accommodate himself by *outward conformity* with the Sunni practice without incurring any sin if his *mental reservation* for Shiaism was genuine if not open.[6] Under the Mughal empire, the Shias could be trusted in any position except in fighting against Persia.[7]

The Persians were fortune-hunters, who had accompanied the ranks of Babur and his successors[8] in large numbers, and their successes at the Mughal Court had induced many others to follow in their foot-steps.[9] Their ability and fidelity had recommended them to the highest posts of trust and importance, and, though lesser in number than Turani people, "were in possession of the most important offices in the kingdom, and exercised the largest share of influence at the Court of the Mogol."[10] They had physicians, poets, lawyers, soldiers and other professional classes in their ranks. They professed the Shia form of Islam and were strongly attached to it; but being in minority and by virtue of serving the State which strictly adhered to the Sunni sect, the rival of Shiaism, they often played hypocrites to please their masters.[11] Though the Persians, great or small, serving the Mughal Empire with greatest skill and faithfulness, always tried and entertained "a vain and overweening desire to exalt their nation",[12] and owed allegiance to their natural king, the Shah of Persia.[13] They were most doubted when engaged against the ruler of Iran[14] and the suspicion came to be true on more than one occasion.[15]

Among the sons of Shahjahan, Shah Shuja favoured the Shias most. Upon them he relied in the pre-ordained fight for the *masnad* of Delhi against the Sunni Champion, Aurangzeb. He invited a large number of Shias from Iran and took them with him to Bengal. There in the capital city of Dacca he settled them in such a large number that Dacca during his viceroyalty became veritably a Shia city.[16] Aurangzeb's first viceroy of Bengal, Mir Jumla, was a Shia.[17] Nawab Ali Vardi Khan and his family were also Shias.[18] The result was that there arose a second Lucknow in Bengal, namely, the city of Dacca, if judged by the number, influence and importance of Shia emigrants.[19] Though in its last gasp. Shiaism is still professed there openly by the descendants of ancient families.[20]

When no political objective was to be gained, for example,

the conciliation of Mir Jumla, Aurangzeb heartily hated the Shias on the ground of their schism and styled them as heretics (*Rafizis*[21], corpse-eating demons (*ghul-i-bayabani*), and mis-believers (*batil mazhaban*).[22] But he was not slow to recognize merit, as he expressly declared: "What connections have earthly affairs with religion, and what right have administrative works to meddle with bigotry? For you is your religion and for me is mine . . . . Wise men disapprove of the removal of able officers from office",[23] though his uncompromising partiality for the orthodox Islam acted as a barrier in giving fair play to his judg-ment. He has bequeathed to the posterity an estimate of the Persians as a legacy which affords a real insight into their character. While comparing the Irani and Turani people he says, "The Turani people, . . ., who are brethren from the same city as that of my ancestors,—according to the saying 'Don't throw yourself into destruction with your own hands',—do not think it a shame to retreat in the very thick of the battle . . . . The Persians, whether born in *Vilayat* (*i.e.* Persia) or in Hindustan . . ., are a hundred stages removed from this sort of movement.'[24] At another place he remarked: "Without (being charged with) pre-judice and enmity, we may say that as the Sun is the guardian planet of the Persians, the intellectual keenness of those men in quickness of perception and foresight is four times as great as that of the Indians,[25] whose tutelary planet is Saturn. Their only defect is that by reason of conjunction with Venus, they have grown ease-loving . . . that you should be on your guard against the great cunning of the Persians and never submit to their (seemingly) overtures, as that would only prove your lack of sagacity."[26]

Therefore, we may conclude, that the Persians were valiant men[27] and always true to the salt of their master except when the interest of the Indian Empire collided with that of Persia, the land of their ancestors. The social position and the cultural hegemony of the Persians in India was most significant. They formed the cream of the Muslim society and were the life and light of the Mussalman community. They hailed from a country which was the seat of culture, learning, fashion and polished manners, and they were respected as the masters of social decorum in all Asia.

Turanis

The Turani people belonged to the ancestral home of the reigning dynasty. They were Turko-Mongol by race, Sunni by creed, the state religion of Mughal India, and were "more to be commended for their valour than beauty; a square, stout, strong people, having platter faces, and flat noses . . . . "[28] Owing to the favour and patronage of the reigning dynasty and being in majority as compared with the other foreign immigrants, who had settled in Hindustan, they formed the most dominant part of the population, and the great ability, military as well as civil, of some of them, made them a very influential class both in the army and the State.

Aurangzeb, in his last will and testament, with his keen insight into the character of the people over whom he ruled, says of them: "The Turani people have ever been soldiers. They are very expert in making charges, raids, night attacks and arrests. They feel no suspicion, despair or shame when commanded to make a retreat in the very midst of a fight, . . . and they are a hundred stages remote from the crass stupidity of the Hindustanis, who part with their heads but not leave their positions (in battle). In every way, you should confer favours on this race, because on many occasions these men can do the necessary service, when no other race can".[29]

They were generally good natured, discreet, civil, obliging and full of compliance.[30] They had great confidence in their ability to do anything, no matter how difficult or complex, though it was not always the case when put to the test.[31]

Afghans

The sturdy and fighting race of the Afghans had once held sway over Hindustan and though their period was short but glorious, and though forming only a chapter in the dazzling pages of the history of the long line of Timur, has got its own worth. It was because that even the menials and water-carriers coming from this stock were high spirited and war-like.[32] They always entertained a vain hope to become the masters of this country again—an aspiration which was dearest to their hearts, a dream which was destined never to be fulfilled. The usual saying of a *Pathan* when he wanted to impress his truthfulness was: "If it be not so, may I never ascend the throne of Delhi."[33]

The relations between Mughals and Afghans were not friendly. The Afghans had a deep-seated hatred for the Mughals, and it was only the yoke of subjection which had reconciled them to the domination of the latter, and the passage of time had partly healed the wounds.[34]

The Afghans, as compared with the Mughals,[35] were known, besides their dare-devil courage and bigotry, more for their general rusticity, illiteracy, bragging and ill-temper rather than for culture, learning, taste and decency.[36] They mainly inhabited the part of the country in the vicinity of the Ganges in Bihar and Bengal.[37] The *Pathan* was an obstinate soldier; it was said of them that "they never draw their swords but blood must flow."[38] They shared in common with the Rajputs the habit of taking opium or other intoxicating drugs before a battle to embark upon any enterprise with a raging resolution to die or be victorious.[39]

The Afghans were mostly Sunnis.[40] Though some of them had shown an aptitude for the civil administration but as a rule they were too rough for civil life. The most peculiar trait of Afghan character was their boastfulness and vanity. They were extremely pretentious, "each one thinking himself greater than the rest, and decline to concede to others any superiority.[41]

Under this class, we may include, two types of people: One, whose ancestors had, as a result of the steady flow of foreign immigration, poured down upon the Indian soil and made it their new home; and the second, Hindu converts to Islam who were called Nau-Muslims. The former had inter-married with the Indian people and had become Hindustanis in the real sense and they always took the Indian side in most of the affairs of life and administration. These two classes of people were least distinguishable and they comprised, what may be called, Muslim masses.

The Nau-Muslims, who were tempted out from the stock of Hindu society or forcibly converted, did not materially alter their outlook and social position, though some advance was made in many other respects.[42] But the creed of the Prophet did not attain that success in India which had been achieved in Egypt, Persia and Byzantina. The change of religion did not change their environments and atmosphere, which was permeated through and through with social isolation, superstitious ideas and caste

restrictions.[43] Many Muslim converts of Rajput descent took care to append the designation of their original clan to their personal names[44] though all the converts to the fold of Islam were usually styled with the honorific title of Shaikh.[45]

The Hindustani Mussalmans differed much in their habits, customs and manners from other Muslim groups.[46] Almost all of them were Sunnis.[47] They were a rustic sort of people, and covetous and not so very ingenious and crafty as Afghans or Mughals.[48]

A brief reference to the Sayyids of Barha, who also fall in this group, will not be out of place, in so much that they regarded themselves as Indians and had become such in every sense of the term. They had no foreign sympathies and looked askance at fresh arrivals from Iran and Turan, whom they regarded as foreigners. Their predecessors had entered this country simultaneously with the conquest of Islam and had become naturalized citizens of India.[49] They derived their name from a place being a collection of twelve villages, in modern district of Muzaffarnagar which was their ancestral home and chief stronghold[50] though they spread in isolated groups all over the country.[51]

The Muslims have been very extravagant in showing regard and veneration to the descendants of the Prophet, rather it has formed a part of their belief itself.[52] The Sayyids, entitled only for religious offices, indulged in politics and gave a short-lived dynasty to Delhi. But the loss of power did not affect their social status and religious sanctity. In the seventeenth century they formed a powerful clique and played a decisive role in the politics of the country,[53] and a century later they became virtual rulers and '*de facto*' sovereigns when they began to make and unmake emperors.[54] They had developed a sort of common brotherhood among themselves and look up the cause of every individual as an insult to the whole group and an infringement of the rights of the Sayyids in general.[55] Only a Sayyid was considered eligible to murder a Sayyid.[56]

The Sayyids of Barha were famous throughout the country for their obstinate valour and love of fight, and to them belonged as their birth-right the privilege to lead the van of the imperial forces on the battlefield.[57] Religious fervour and a heroic air were the distinguishing features of this tribe. Many of these

Barha Sayyids for their services to the State were awarded the coveted title of "Khan", which in course of time very often obliterated all traces of their being Sayyids."[58]

RELATIONS AMONG VARIOUS SECTIONS OF THE MUSLIMS

Superiority Complex of the Foreigners

The term "Mughal" was the common epithet which denoted all the foreign element in the Muslim population of Hindustan. Originally it stood for the house of Timur and their followers. But the conception had changed with the passage of time. Bernier says, "To be considered a Mongol, it is enough if a foreigner have a white face and profess Mohametanism", such as Persians, Turks, Arabs and Uzbeks.[59] The Mughal in later times meant even the Afghans from Qandhar, *e.g.*, Ahmad Shah Abdali's soldiers, who were to the Marathas *Vilayati* Mughals.[60]

The foreigners, because they had stood by the side of leaders like Timur and Babur, because they set up the norm of the Muslim society of the day, and because they belonged to the reigning dynasty, in some form or the other, scrupulously maintained an overweening sense of superiority, and "prided themselves to be called Whites ... in scorn of the Indians, who are Blacks."[61] A general aloofness in the Muslim society between the Indian-born Mussalmans, whose forefathers had entered the country several centuries back and had made it their homeland and the Hindu converts who had embraced Islam, on the one hand, and the fresh blood which was infused in the veins of the Muslim community on the other, was strikingly apparent. But all the same the foreign and were more akin to their past social and religious order. They participated in their common sufferings and we find references when Muslims joined in Hindu festivals like 'Holi'. 'Diwali' (the festival of lamps) and 'Dassehra' and Hindus celebrated Muslim festivals.[62]

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. A positivist, follower of Comte. Dr. J. H. Bridges, in an address delivered in 1879 on the subject of "Prayer and Work" observed: "The faith of the Musalman is concentrated in a single word, Islam; devotion, resignation of our own will to the supreme

decree. That word was not limited by Muhammed to his own followers; It was used ungrudgingly of Judaic and Christian predecessors. There is no fitter word for the religion of the human race. If there is any one word in Western language which can translate it fully, it is the word religion itself; . . .. "*Discourses on Positive Religion*, London, 1891, quoted from Sayyid Abdul Latif, *The Concept of Society in Islam*, p. 18.

2. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, text, I, 216.
3. Compare Andre' Servier, *Islam and the Psychology of the Musalmans*, p. 9.
4. The Persians were Shias. Shia literally means "a troop, a party". See Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, s.v.
5. *Fatuhat-i-Firuz Shahi (ED)* III, 377, 378. *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi*, fol. 63a.
6. *Taqiyyah* ('fear', 'caution', or 'pious subterfuge'). Whenever the Shias are in a minority they practice, if necessary, *taqiyyah, i.e.*, they act as though they were Sunnis. A Shia may even vilify his own sect, if his personal safety requires it. The justification for it, is sought in a passage from the *Quran* (ch. III, 27). It was used as a weapon by the Shi-ites in their constant propaganda against the Umayyads. It consists in the use of words with a *double meaning or in mental reservation*. See Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, s.v. Tavernier observes: "It is true that although they (*i.e.* Persians) regarded the Sunnis with horror they nevertheless follow, in outward show, the religion of the Monarch, believing that to make or secure their fortune they might conceal their true belief, and that it sufficed for them to cherish it in their hearts." II, 176.
7. Lahauri, *Badshahnana (BI)*, II, 563.
8. Humayun came somewhat under the Shia influence. On his return from Persia, the Persians followed in his train in large numbers. This was resented by the orthodox section of his followers. Badauni *(BI)*, I, 468.
9. Roe and Fryer, p. 179.
10. Bernier, p. 9. Tavernier, II, 177.
11. ". . . and they (*i.e.* Persians) themselves to please the King (*i.e.* Aurangzeb) and advance their own fortunes, made no scruple about conforming themselves externally to the cult and customs of the Sunnis." *Ibid*, II, 177.
12. Bernier, p. 146.
13. See *Ibid*, pp. 146-153 for the attitude of the Persians in India when an Embassy from Persia visited the court of Shahjahan. They spread false rumours and invented anecdotes giving credit to the Shah of Persia and his subjects. Also compare Manucci, II, 50-53; according to him the Persians always favoured their nation in the

Empire of the Great Mughal and displayed a short of clannishness which prevented themselves from merging with the other classes of people (II, 177).

14. Bernier, p. 185.
15. One of the main reasons for the failure of Qandhar expeditions for its reduction which was attempted thrice during the reign of Shahjahan, was the lack of co-operation among the Persian contingent and officers, who had a secret sympathy with the Shah of Persia. Bernier writes about the first siege of Qandhar: "The first failure was owing to the bad conduct or perfidy of the Persian Omrahs in the Great Mongol's service, the most powerful noblemen of his court, and strongly attached to their native country. They betrayed a *shameful lukewarmness* (Italics mine) during the siege refusing to follow the Raja Roup who had already planted his standard on the wall nearest the mountains." p. 184.
16. Vide *Tarikh-i-Shah Shujai* (Muhammad Masum), Bankipur MS.
17. He is responsible for building numerous buildings in East Bengal. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri (BI)* text, p. 368.
18. *Siyar*, text, II, III, *et passim*.
19. Lucknow is the seat of Shiaism till today.
20. A recent publication, *Asudgan-i-Dacca*, by Hakim Habib-ur-Rahman Khan of Dacca, gives a good account of Shia *mohallas*, *Imambaras*, and *Husaini Dalan* of Dacca.
21. From *Rafz;* literally meaning "forsaking." The term *Rafizi* was originally applied to the Shias who joined Zaid Ibn Ali but forsook him upon his refusing to curse Abu Bakr and 'Umar, the first two Khalifas; but it came afterwards to denote any sect of Shias. See Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, art. *Rafizi*.
22. For Aurangzeb's hatred and aversion towards the Shias see *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, Sarkar's translation, p. 190. In one of his letters he quotes with admiration the story of a Sunni who escaped to Turkey after murdering a Shia a Isfahan, and draws from it the moral. "Whoever acts for truth and speaks up for truth, is befriended by the True God." In another letter he tells us how he liked the naming of a dagger as the "Shia-slayer" (*Rafizikush*), and ordered some more of the same name to be made for him. Vide Jadunath Sarkar, *Studies in Aurangzeb's Reign*, p. 15.
23. *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri*, No. 39, p. 99, text, p. 43.
24. *Ibid*.
25. But the Persians born in India were noted for their gross stupidity. *Ibid*, p. 100. For Persian quickness of wit see Badauni (Haig), III, 393. Manucci, IV, 259-260.
26. *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri*, No. 52, p. 118, text, p. 56.

27. Edward Terry observes, "There are of both these (*i.e.* Tartars and Persians) many daring, stout, hardy, and valiant men. For the Persians, there are of them many comely persons, not so swarthy as those of East India". p. 121.
28. *Ibid*, p. 122. Terry evidently confuses Mongols with Turks, who could not have flat noses. But his statement is corroborated by Alberuni *(ED)*, I, 57 and Bernier, p. 404. For a fuller description of the Turani people see Gustave Le Bon, trans. as *Tamaddun-i-Hind* by Syed Ali Bilgrami, pp. 308, 309.
29. *Vide* Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, V, 265-66.
30. Mandelslo, p. 65. *Tuzuk*, I, 27.
31. It passed into a proverb, *"Digar ba-khud manaz ke Turki tamam shud"* (Don't brag again; as your Turkship has ended, *i.e.*, your boast has failed). *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, Sarkar's translation, pp. 212-213.
32. "The Afghans, a race naturally brave and determined, who breathed nothing but conquests and new establishments, ..." *Siyar*, trans, III, 235.
33. Bernier, p. 207. The war between the Mughal and the Pathan over the *Masnad* of Delhi passed into a popular game known as *Mughal-Pathan*, and is still played alike by boys and old men in the country-side particularly in Bihar and Bengal.
34. Compare *Tuzuk*, I, 207-8.
35. Both Irani and Turani, see *infra*.
36. Babur says, "The people of Hindustan, and particularly the Afghans, are a strangely foolish and senseless race, possessed of little reflection, and less foresight." *Baburnama*, trans. Beveridge, II, 156. Mandelslo states that the Afghans are "a sort of self-conceited, insolent, cruel, and barbarous people. They sleight (slight) others, for no other reason, then (than) that they are not so rash as themselves in hazarding their lives without any necessity." p. 65. Edward Terry says, "These (*i.e.* Afghans) will look an enemy boldly in the face, and maintain with their lives, their reputation and valour." p. 151.
37. Bernier, p. 206. Careri, III, p. 251. Terry, p. 151.
38. Roe and Fryer, p. 285.
39. *Ibid*., p. 445. For the Rajput habit of taking intoxicating drugs before a battle see Bernier, p. 39.
40. Elphinstone, *An Account of Caubul*, I, 262, 276. But Manucci says that the Afghans were not uniform in their belief; some followed the Shia sect and others were professed Sunnis. II, 454. There are some Shias among the Afghans even today.
41. Manucci, II, 453. Perhaps there is an over-drawn picture of the

Afghan character in the *Siyar-ul-Mutakhkhirin*. The author was a childish Shia and strongly attached to the family of Ali Vardi Khan. The Afghan hostility towards the latter in Bengal may account for this. He says, "It is observable, that these people (*i.e.* Afghans) in consequence of their numbers and their little sense and understanding, as well as their way of life in caverns of their mountainous country, very much resembled the savage beasts. They are like them swift-footed, exceedingly courageous, and attracted by little, and highly covetous. Unmoved by the rights of gratitude, and unaffected by benefits received, they pay little attention to their benefactor, and even to the rights of friendship, and feel as little to the duties of a community of bread and salt .... Unpolished and coarse-behaved, and nearly incapable of any civilization, they are strangers to the softer and more generous sentiments of humanity ... and become furious and ungovernable in their revenges". English translation, I, 437, 438; also see I, 139. Compare with this Elphinstone's character-sketch of the Afghans of Kabul. He says, "To sum up the character of the Afghauns (Afghans) in a few words; their vices are revenge, envy, avarice, rapacity, and obstinacy; on the other hand, they are fond of libery, faithful to their friends, kind to their dependents, hospitable, brave, hardy, frugal, laborious and prudent; and they are less disposed than the nations in their neighbourhood to falsehood, intrigue and deceit." I, 330.

42. There were three types of conversion to Islam in India. First, *voluntary*, and it was the result of *tabligh* (preaching) of the Muslim missionaries in which Muslim saints played a conspicuous part. See Badauni (Haig), III, 57, though his estimate is somewhat exaggerated. Also see T. W. Arnold's *Preaching of Islam*. Second, when Hindus embraced Islam in the hope of worldly gains. During Aurangzeb's reign the slogan was "Qanungoship for becoming a Muslim." The new converts were paraded through the main streets of the capital on elephants well equipped and fully adorned. Vide *Studies in Aurangzeb's Reign*. Third, *forcible;* it should be noted that these forcibly converted Hindus returned to Hinduism whenever they got a chance. Briggs *Firishta*, IV, 487.
43. Jahangir says, "The people of this country (Rajaur in Kashmir) were in old times Hindus, and the landlords are called Rajas. Sultan Firoz Tughlaq made them Muhammedans, but they are still called Rajas. They still have the marks of the times of ignorance. One of these is that just as some Hindu women burn themselves along with their husbands' (bodies), so these women (the Rajaur women) are put into the grave along with their (dead) husbands. I

heard that recently they put alive into the grave a girl of ten or twelve along with her (dead) husband, who was of the same age. Also, when a daughter is born to a man without means, they put her to death by strangulation. They ally themselves with Hindus, and both give and take girls . . . . I gave an order that hereafter they should not do such things, and whoever was guilty of them, should be capitally punished." *Tuzuk,* II, 180. But it appears that Jahangir's order met with little success as the same things continued during the reign of Shahjahan as well and he issued strict orders against it. *Badshahnama (BI).* II, p. 57. Also compare Gustave Le Bon, *Tamaddun-i-Hind,* trans. Syed Ali Bilgrami, pp. 84-5.

44. For example, Hasan Khan Bachgodi (Badauni, text, II, 25. Lowe's trans., p. 18. *Tarikh-i-Alfi (ED).* V, 582. for Bachgoti tribe see, Elliot, *Races of N.W. Provinces,* I, 47). Sulaiman Khan Panwar (*Akbarnama,* text, III, 140; trans., pp. 193, 198). Sher Khan Tunwar (*Maasir-ul-Umara,* I, 120, 193).
45. Roe and Fryer, p. 279. *Shaikh* is an Arabic word meaning an elder or chief, and probably corresponds very closely among the tribes of Arabia with *Chaudhuri* among those of the Punjab. Thus the title should properly be confined to, and is very generally assumed by, tribes of the true Arab descent. But it has been degraded to a much more vulgar use. If a Rajput or Jat turn Muslim he retains his caste name, and is still a Rajput or Jat; though Sir Denzil Ibbetson had . known Musalman Rajputs who had fallen in life and taken to weaving call themselves Shaikh, though still recognised as relations by their brethren of the village whence they came. So if an outcaste or a man of impure calling becomes Mussalman and retains his occupation, or at least substitues for it another only slightly less degrading, he also retains his caste name or is known by an entirely new one, such as *Dindar or Musalli.* But the class which lies between these two extremes, and are neither so proud of their origin as to wish, nor so degraded by their occupation as to be compelled, to retain their original caste name, very generally abandon that name on their conversion to Islam and adopt the title of *Shaikh.* There is a Persian proverb: 'The first year I was a weaver *(Julaha);* the next year a Shaikh. This year if prices rise I shall be a Sayyid.' Rose's *Glossary,* III, 399. In fact these designations were arbitrarily adopted by the Muslims according to their status and social position. Badauni says that anybody who had no descent whatever to boast of claimed connection with the Quraish (the Arabian tribe to which Muhammed belonged), and designated himself as a *Quraishi.* (Badauni, Haig's trans., III, 398, 399).

Manucci mentions a class of people called Shaikhzadas, "who are descended from the family of Muhammed, but very remote from the Sayyids. This race hold land, and also remain in service at the Courts, great and petty; they are very subtil, of great intelligence, very litigous, and great lawyers. Others become recluses and holy men, and by that false pretence gain a living". II, 454.

46. Mandelslo, p. 62.
47. "His Majesty (Akbar) once ordered that the Sunnis should stand separately from the Shias, when the Hindustanis, without exception, went to the Sunni side, and the Persians to the Shia side". Badauni (Lowe), II, 337.
48. Mandelslo, p. 65.
49. The true Sayyids are the descendants of Ali, the son-in-law of Muhammad, and, strictly speaking, the word includes only those descended from him by Fatima, Muhammed's daughter. But there are Ulavi Sayyids, who are said to be descended through other wives. The origin of the Barha Sayyids is assigned to the Sayyid Abul Farah Wasiti, son of Sayyid Daud or Sayyid Husain, who came to Ghazni in 389 AH. He had four sons who settled in Chhat-Banur (now in Patiala), and other villages in that part. These four sons found as many clans, *viz.*, Chhatrodi, Kondliwal, Thhenpuri, Jajnori—from the names of the village assigned to each. For further details, their division and distribution and local nickness see Rose's *Glossary*, III, 390-4.
50. *Tuzuk*, II, 269.
51. Munucci, II, 454.
52. It was regarded a sin to hurt a Sayyid (*Baharistan*, I, 425). The Sayyids were exempted from making the customary rites of salutation (*Ibid*, II, 476). Bidar Bakht (son of Aurangzeb) one day told his wife (a Sayyid girl) that "the daughter of a rascal (*paji*) ought not to show such pride to princes." Aurangzeb wrote to Bidar that, "To apply the term *paji* to the Sayyids is to act like a *paji*. If a Sayyid is called a *paji*, it will not make him *paji*. If I do not learn from the letters of the Mahaldar and Nazir that you have made up with the Sayyid girl, you will meet with rebuke, nay more, with punishment." *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 0-1. As a test of a genuine Sayyid it was generally believed that they could walk over fire without burning even a hair of their body. Badauni (*BI*), I, 171. III, Haig's trans, p. 96.
53. The Sayyids of Barha served under Akbar with great fidelity. See *Akbarnama* (Beveridge), III, 225, 244, Badauni (Lowe), II, 237. They supported the cause of Jahangir and fought for him against, Khusrau. Jahangir says, "Some people make remark about their

(Sayyids of Barha's) lineage, but their bravery is a convincing proof of their being Sayyids, for there has never been a battle in this reign in which they have not been conspicuous, and in which some have not been killed. Mirza Aziz Koka always said the Sayyids of Barha were the averters of calamity from this dominion, and such is in reality the case." *Tuzuk* II, 269. During the war of succession among the sons of Shahjahan, the Sayyids of Barha stood by the side of Dara Shikoh and Prince Shuja against Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb looked with suspicion and always kept a close watch over the Sayyids of Barha, though he showed all the respect to this class of people. In his will (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, V, 266) he instructs his sons: "You should treat the Sayyids of Barha, who are worthy of blessings, according to the Quranic verse, 'Give unto the near relations (of the Prophet) their dues', and never grow slack in honouring and favouring them. . .But you should be extremely cautious in dealing with the Sayyids of Barha. Be not wanting in love for them at heart, but externally do not increase their rank, because a strong partner in the government soon wants to seize the kingship for himself. If you let them take the reins ever so little, the result will be your own disgrace." At another place he remarked, "True, love for the high ranked Sayyids is a part of our faith, nay more, it is the very essence of spiritual knowledge; and enmity to this tribe is the cause of entry into hell-fire and of (incurring) the anger of God. . . To relax the reins to the Sayyids of Barha is to bring on final ruin, *i.e.*, a bad end; because these people on getting the least prosperity and promotion boast 'There is none like me', stray from the path of right conduct, cherish high views, and cause impediments. . ." *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri*, No. 32, text, p. 36; trans., p. 88.

54. The two "Sayyid brothers" of Barha, *viz.*, Sayyid Hasan Ali Khan, who afterwards became Qutb-ul-Mulk Abdullah Khan and the Wazir of Farrukh-Siyar, and Sayyid Hussain Ali Khan, were known as "King-makers." They helped Farrukh-Siyar in the war of succession after the death of Aurangzeb and got him seated on the throne of Delhi. They subsequently fell with him and got him imprisoned and killed. Muhammad Shah owed his accession on the imperial *masnad* to their help. The Sayyid Brothers, to the detriment of the State and to their own disgrace, made the Imperial throne of Delhi a football for their own ambitions. See *Siyar*, text, I & II, *passim*. Sayyid Hasan Ali used to boast: "Upon whomsoever falls the shadow of my slippers becomes as great as Alamgir!" Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, 101.

55. During the thirty-seventh year of the reign of Aurangzeb (1694

A.D.), Amanullah, a trusted servant of Shah Alijah fatally stabbed a Sayyid of Barha, who was a mansabdar. The other Sayyids in a body went to the residence of Amanullah whose supporters also came out to meet them. The matter was reported to Aurangzeb, who asked them to go to the Chief Qazi, and the Sayyids had the courage to disobey the orders of the Emperor and say, "We won't go to the Qazi, we shall settle the matter with our enemies." However, they dispersed when the Emperor personally intervened into the matter. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* (Sarkar), pp. 221-222. A similar incident took place in the Deccan during the eighteenth year of Jahangir's reign between the Sayyids of Barha and the Rajputs. See *Tuzuk*, II. 283-4.

56. Compare *Baharistan*, I, 425.
57. *Tuzuk*, I, 64.
58. For example, Sayyid Ali Asghar, son of Sayyid Mahmud of Barha, received the title of 'Saif Khan' under Jahangir. His nephew Sayyid Jafar received the title of 'Shuja 'at Khan'. Sayyid Jafar's nephew, Sayyid Sultan, received the title of 'Salabat Khan' *alias* 'Ikhtisas Khan'. The latter's cousin, Sayyid Muzaffar, received the title of Himmat Khan.' Again Sayyid Abdul Wahhab received the title of 'Dilir Khan', whilst Sayyid Khan Jahan-i-Shahjahani's son Sayyid Sher Zaman, received the title of 'Muzaffar Khan'; another son Sayyid Munawwar, received the title of 'Laskhar Khan', whilst his grandson, Sayyid Firuz, received the title of 'Ikhtisas Khan'. Again Sayyid Qasim flourished under the title of 'Shahamat Khan' in Aurangzeb's reign, whilst his nephew, Sayyid Nusrat, held the title of 'Yar Khan' under Muhammad Shah, See *Maasir-ul-Umara, sub vocibus*.

    Only these four groups of the Muslim community, *viz*, Irani, Turani, Afghans and Hindustani Mussalmans have been given special treatment as only they played the dominant role in the contemporary Muslim society.
59. Bernier, pp. 3, 48.
60. Vide *Bhao sahib-chi Bakhar*. The contemporary observers were puzzled by the term "Mughal" and were led to assign fanciful meanings to it. Joseph Salbank, an East India factor "who resided for many years in the country during the reign of Jahangir, says, "but now the word (Mogol) extendeth itself farther, for by the same is understood as well the Persian and Turk as the Tartar, yea, very often they call Christians Mogols also." *Letters Received by the East India Company*, ed. William Foster, VI, 184. Sir Thomas Roe says that the term meant 'circumcised', that is, it was applicable to all Muslims. *Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, ed. Foster, p. 312 Others

simply give 'white' as the signification of the term. "The word Mogoll in their Language", writes Coverte, "is as much as to say the great White Kings". *A True Almost and Incredible Report*, London, 1612, p. 39. Also see Ovington, p. 167. Roe and Fryer, p. 279. Mandelslo, p. 63. Original meaning of the word for a Mongol of the home country was *badzat* (rascal) as used by outlandish *Mongols* who were called half-breds (*Qarauna*) by a pure Mongols. See Introduction by N. Ellias to *History of the Mongols*.

61. Roe and Fryer, p. 447.
62. Thevenot who personally saw the Muharram festival at Golconda mentions. "The Heathen Idolators celebrate this Feast also for their diversion, and they do it with such Fopperies as far surpass the Moors", III, p. 106. Under Akbar 'Diwali' and 'Dasehra' were celebrated as State festivals. *Akbarnama*, Beveridge, III, 958, 1245, Also see *Tuzuk*, II, 100-01.

11

Festivities and Ceremonies

FEASTS AND FESTIVALS

Islam is a puritanical religion with perhaps the fewest number of religious festivals; whereas Hinduism stands at the other extreme. But man has his own device to escape from Puritanism and create occasions of festivity. And such was the case with the Muslim particularly in Iran and Hindustan. Though Islam enjoins upon its followers the observance of only a certain feasts which should be celebrated with marked solemnity, the number got multiplied in the course of time, and the old institutions underwent modifications. During our period a number of feasts and festivals were celebrated; some were occasions of great rejoicings and others accounted for solemn recollection and even mourning.

ID-UL-AZHA or ID-I-QURBAN (the feast of sacrifice),—held on the tenth of *Zul-hijja*, the twelfth month of the Mussalman year,—is the most important of Muslim festivals.[1] In India it is generally regarded as a substitute for the sacrifice celebrated by pilgrims in the valley of Mina near Mecca in commemoration of Ibrahim's readiness to sacrifice his son Isma'il in obedience to the command of God.[2] On the morning of the tenth, Muslims take a bath, wear their dress and go to the *Id-gah*, or place of prayer,

situated generally outside a city or a village in an open space[3], where they pray in congregation, repeating the Creed (*takbir*) all the way from their houses. After returning to their homes from *Id-gah*, the *rite* of sacrifice (*Qurbani*) is performed[4]. Shahjahan was very particular in this respect and he used to sacrifice animals every year[5]. In the time of Aurangzeb the Qazi, with a slave behind him holding a drawn sword in his hands, received the Emperor and recited the names of his ancestors ending with a panegyric on and a prayer for the present ruler. As a reward on this occasion he received a rich *khil 'at* of seven pieces of cloth. 'On the congregation leaving the mosque the camel stands ready for sacrifice at the foot of the steps. The Emperor, mounting his horse, thrusts his lance into the neck of the camel or orders one of his sons to perform this duty. When his son Shah Alam was present at Court he usually did this office. After this the slaves stretch the camel on the ground and divide its flesh among themselves, as if it were saints' relics'[6]

ID-UL-FITR, "the festival of the breaking of the Fast", is observed on the first of Shawwal, the tenth Arabic month, after the long-drawn fast of a whole month of Ramzan. Like *Id-ul-Azha*, it is religious in character and unlike the former is purely Islamic having been initiated by the Prophet in the second year of the Hijra era. This is a festival of rejoicing and thanks giving after the tension of Ramzan or Lent and the very appearance of the moon of Id (*Hilal-i-Id*) is a signal for undisguised relief and unrestranied rejoicing.[7] The manner of celebrating this festival is almost the same as that of *Id-ul-Azha* with the main difference that alms are given bounteously in place of sacrifice and hence the festival is also called *Id-ul-Sadaqa* (of Alms). The religious significance of *Baqr-Id* is greater than that of *Id-i-Ramzan*, but the latter is celebrated with more pomp and show, glory and enthusiasm. On this day the Muslims go to their friends, elders and other of higher rank and receive visits from subordinates.[8] During the reign of Aurangzeb the festival was celebrated with great festivities and fireworks and the banquet continued for two days after the Id[9]. Music and dance, though forbidden by Islam, were the accompanying features of the day[10] Unlike the Roman Catholic Lent, rejoicing and voluptuous excesses follow and not precede the days of abstinence.

With MUHARRAM (lit. "that which is forbidden" and so

anything "sacred") the Muslim year begins;[11] but the tragedy of Karbala has converted it into a month of mourning for all Muslims, and especially for Shias. Now the Muharram is celebrated as the anniversary of the martyrdom of Husain at Karbala[12]. The Sunnis generally keep aloof from Muharram celebrations except the vulgar sort, and they regard it as heresy and innovation (*bid at*). They devote their time during the first ten days of Muharram to pious deeds. Tavernier informs us that Aurangzeb had banned the celebration of Muharram festival in his reign[13]. During our period the first appearance of the moon of Muharram was hailed with great rejoicings and the mutual greetings (*mubarakbad*) for a happy new year[14]. The feelings between Shias and Sunnis during Muharram often ran high[15]. It appears that, where there was no Shia-Sunni question, the Hindus were made the victims as the murderers of Imam Husain[16]. Moreover, there was a general tension between the various parties of Muharram enthusiasts. "If two parties meet carrying their biers (*i.e. tazias*), and one will not give place to the other, then, if they were evenly matched, they may kill each other as if they were enemies at open war"[17]. Whatever be the truth in ascribing the introduction of *Tazias* (or imitation mausoleums of the martyrs of Karbala) to Timur, it is interesting to note that the manner of Muharram celebration, during our period, did not differ much from what is done now. Monserrate says that during the Muharram 'the Mussalmans fast for nine days, only eating pulse; and on certain of these days some of them publicly recite the story of the sufferings of Hasan and Husain from a raised platform, and their words stir the whole assembly to lamentation and tears. On the last day of the festival funeral pyres are erected and burnt one after the other. The people jump over these, and afterwards scatter the glowing ashes with their feet. Meanwhile they shriek "Hasan Husain" with wild and savage cries.[18] Mandelslo, who saw the Muharram festival at Agra, narrates that "There are carried about the city, coffins covered with bows and arrows, turbans, scimitars, and garments of silk, which the people accompany with sobbings and lamentations. Some among them dance at the ceremony, others strike their swords one against another; nay, there are those who cut and slash themselves, so as that the blood comes out in several places, wherewith they rub their

clothes, and by that means represent a very strange procession. Towards night they set up several figures of men, made of straw, to personate the murderers of those saints; and having shot a great many arrows at them, they set them on fire, and reduce them to ashes.[19]

We have reasons to believe that in Hindustan the Muharram festival drew some of its features, *e.g.*, burying of the *tazias* and mimic attacks on effigies from the *Ramlila* of the Hindus, who burn the effigy of Ravan.

SHAB-I-BARAT, or *Lailal-ul-Barat*, the "night of record"[20] is observed on the fourteenth night of the eighth month, Sh'aban, and is so called because on this night it is supposed that the lives and fortunes of the mortals for the coming year are fixed and registered in Heaven.[21] Muhammed enjoined his followers to keep vigil throughout the whole night by offering special prayers, reading the Holy Book and other formulae to which the religious community strictly adheres. As a matter of fact, however, the time is marked by great merriment, and the extensive use of fireworks and the illumination of houses and mosques are the distinguishing features of popular celebration[22]. Therefore, Shab-i-Barat has been aptly described as the 'Guy Fawkes Day of Islam' although its associations are totally different from the parallel English festival. Sultan Firoz Tughlaq celebrated the festival for four days. On the approach of Shab-i-Barat, he used to collect loads of fireworks and crackers. Four giant piles of these materials were reserved for the Sultan; one was assigned to his brother, the Barbak; one was given to Malik Ali and another to Malik Yaqub. Some idea may be formed of these fireworks from the fact that thirty ass-loads of crackers alone were collected. On the successive nights of the 13th, the 14th and the 15th Sh'aban, these fireworks were lighted. The effect of the illumination, as the chronicler describes it, gave to the nights the look of broad daylight. Four big trays full of these fireworks, accompanied by musicians, were distributed to the crowds of people who gathered to watch the spectacle in Firozabad. During the night of the 15th Sh'aban, gifts were sent to houses of charity and other charitable institutions[23]. Khwas Khan, the general of Adil Khan, eldest son of Sher Shah, on his march against Islam Shah, spent the whole of this night in prayer. The Pathans ashamed of daylight treachery, took advantage of

the preoccupation of their pious commander and the darkness of night and deserted to the enemy camp. For all his prayers, Khwas Khan lost the battle and poor Adil Khan his head[24]. Jahangir was very forward on this occasion and used to celebrate the feast with brimming cups and drinking bouts[25]. Shahjahan being more religious-minded spent the night in vigil and prayer[26].

Prophet's Anniversary

Though opinions differ, the Prophet is generally believed to have been born on the twelfth of the third month Rabi-ul-Awwal, and also that he departed this life on the same day. Therefore, the first twelve days of this month were celebrated by some as the *Maulud* or *milad-i-sharif*, "the noble birth" of the great Prophet and by others as the *'Urs* or nuptials of the exalted soul with the Supreme Being[27]. Hence, the mixed feelings of joy and sorrow marked the celebration of this feast. In Gujarat, Sultan Muzaffar II started the practice of celebrating the nativity of the Prophet. During these days he used to offer cooked dishes and sweets in charity in the name of the Prophet and invite the learned men to a feast. He himself served them, and after they had finished their dinner he would like a humble attendant pour water on their hands for a wash[28]. Sultan Mahmud II of Gujarat (1536-1554), from the first to the twelfth of Rabi-ul-Awwal, regularly celebrated the Prophet's birthday when all the Ulema, Shaikhs and learned men attended the Court and rehearsed the traditions. On the twelfth day, the Sultan played the role of the Sharif of Mecca on such an occasion in that assembly in passing an order that all those who were present to be entertained at a banquet.[29]. Akbar convened every year a *majlis-i-'urs* on the twelfth of Rabi-ul-Awwal and the people were entertained at a general feast.[30] In the reign of Shahjahan on the night of the twelfth an assembly (*majlis-i-milad*) was held and the groups of learned men and *huffaz* (those who have learnt by heart the whole of the *Quran*) devoted their time to reciting the Holy Book and describing the virtues, character and achievements of the Prophet. Shahjahan, out of the respect for the Prophet, used to sit on the ground with the Ulema. After the assembly was over he bestowed robes of honour on those assembled according to their status and trayful of sweetmeats were distributed to all[31].

Nauroz: The popular Iranian spring festival, was celebrated in all the big cities and provincial capitals till Aurangzeb abolished it just in the beginning of his reign evidently on the ground of his religious susceptibilities. He substituted for it another imperial festivity which was to begin in the month of Ramzan and continued upto the Id-ul-Fitr, and hence was called *Nishat Afroz Jashn, that* which heightens gaiety of the banquet[32]. Jahangir mentions the celebration of another Persian festival, *Ab-pashan* or *Gulab Pashi* (rose-water scattering), which was held on the 13th Tir in memory of a rainfall on this date that put an end to a famine. The people amused themselves with sprinkling rose water over each other[33]. This was perhaps an additional Iranian *holi* that amused the gay and carefree Emperor and his courtiers.

The very sight of the New Moon (*Hilal*) of almost every month was hailed with general festivities, "when, all malice apart, the Moors (*i.e.*, Muslims) embrace one another, and at the sight thereof make a jubilee, by firing of guns, blowing of trumphets, feasting and praying very devoutly'[34]. The eclipse of Sun or Moon was deemed an hour of crisis for the great luminaries. Loud cries announced the commencement of an eclipse. The Muslims generally occupied themselves in prayer and fasting till the shadow had passed over[35]. This was perhaps an innovation in imitation of the bathing festival of Hindus on such occasions.

The festival of Khwaja Khizr, popularly called *Khizri*, was also celebrated[36]. Besides, the anniversaries (*Urs*) of some of the reputed saints accounted for great festive gatherings about whom more hereafter. Moreover, coronation ceremonies and birthday celebrations of kings were other festive occasions[37].

CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES

The customs and ceremonies were neither uniform nor obligatory with all the sections of the Muslim population during the period under review. They varied in details according to localities and the notions of a particular family, their religious susceptibilities and social status. However, the birth of a child in a family was an event of great importance. If it be a male one, the joys were unbound[38]. "In the case of any great man having a male child born to him, the feasting and banqueting are prolonged,

with much music and sounding of instruments, and the relations assemble to present congratulations to the new-born child."[39] When a son was born to Mirza Nathan, the author of *Baharistan-i-Ghaibi*, "It became an occasion of great pleasure to the friends and imperial officers. The trumpet of happy news was played and great rejoicings took place dainty dishes were prepared and all the men were fed. Saffron was scattered on all and the otto of roses was sprinkled"[40]. The Muslim call to prayer (*Azan*) was sounded in the ears of the newly born[41]. Next the child was named. The Muslims generally receive only one name and if there are more than one persons of the same name in a particular place, the name of the father or other designations were added for the sake of distinction[42]. "Six days after the birth the final feast is given; it lasts all night with great illuminations, music, dancing and fireworks."[43] After the period of ceremonial impurity (*sotak*) was over, the rite of *'Aqiqah* or sacrifice was performed.[44] The *rite* of initiation, *Bismillah Khani*, "pronouncing the name of God" (also called *Maktab* ceremony or the ceremony of commencing the education of a child), was performed amidst the showers of acclamation and good wishes when the infant attained the age of four years, four months and four days[45]. The circumcision (*khatna, sunnat*) was usually performed between the age of seven and twelve or fourteen but it is lawful to do it seven days after birth. Sometimes the boys were circumcised before the *Bismillah Khani* ceremony as was the case with Mughal princes[46]. Akbar prohibited the rite before the age of twelve, and it was then to be optional with the boy[47]. Fryer says, "They circumcise the foreskin of the male, which is performed by a barber, at eight years of age; with feasting, and carrying the boy about in pomp, with music and great expressions of joy[48]. There were other ceremonies which were peculiar to various races, classes or castes[49].

Marriage[50] was the next eventful item. There was no age limit for a marriage though the Muslims generally favoured early marriages,[51] or the girls of tender years were married with men sufficiently grown up[52]. The marriage was primarily a family affair and the marrying couple had no say into the matter. The boys were not allowed to see the girls before they were lawfully married[53].

The details of marriage ceremonies are so diverse and

complicated that a fuller treatment is not possible. Akbar's legislation on marriages seems to have taken no root in society, and therefore ignored in general. To sum up the main functions, the marriage negotiations between the two parties carried on by elderly people of the family or by others on their behalf (the office usually performed by eunuchs or Qawwals)[54] resulted into a betrothal ceremony (*rasm-i-namzad*), When Prince Khurram (afterwards Shahjahan) was betrothed to Arjumand Banu Begam, the daughter of Asaf Khan, Jahangir with his own hands put the ring on the finger of his prospective daughter-in-law, and the occasion was celebrated with great rejoicing[55]. Usually *pan*, or betel-leaves were distributed as a token of acceptance of the proposal by the members of bride's family[56]. The first wedding gift (*Sachaq*) was sent on bridegroom's behalf with due ceremonies, generally accompanied with music[57]. The *henna or mehndi* (Lawsonia inermis) With other presents and customary articles was brought to the bridegroom and the ceremony of *henna-bandi* was held when the bridegroom's hands and feet were dyed red with the *henna* by ladies concealed behind the curtains[58].

On the day of marriage the bridegroom "finely clad, with a gold network fixed to his head and falling down to his chest, being also decorated with various flowers according to the season"[59], started for the house of the bride on horse-back "accompanied by his kindred and friends having on each side two pages carrying umbrellas of painted paper"[60] with fireworks and music playing before him. Thus the procession passing through the main streets of the locality, reached the house of the bride. There the *nikah* (marriage contract) was performed by a Qazi or Mulla (Priest), and the marriage was registered in Qazi's book[61]. Strangely enough according to the prevalent custom, the father of the bride was not present at the time of *nikah*[62]. As Muslim marriage is essentially a contract between the wedding parties, a dowry (*kabain*) was agreed upon which was payable to the bride on demand or in case of divorce. The formal consent of the bride was necessary before the *nikah* could be performed. It was obtained through an agent (*Vakil*) with two other persons who acted as witnesses[63]. After feasts guests were entertained by singers and dancers. Many formalities were observed when the bride was first introduced to the bridegroom after the *nikah*, or at

the time of the departure (*Rukhsat*) of the bride from the house of her parents and when she arrived at her new home.

The marriage festivities continued for days together, and the whole house on both the sides was *"en fete"*. There was a great eagerness to marry in one's own caste or tribe[64]. The ancient Hindu custom of carrying away the bride, by real or pretended capture (*Rakshasa* form of marriage), was also prevalent as early as the days of Ibn Bututa, who witnessed such a ceremony during the marriage of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq's sister with a Bedouin Sayyid[65]. The *mut'ah* marriage (a temporary arrangement) was in vogue only among the Shias and they loved children born of such a contract more than those of a *nikah* wedlock[66]. Though Islam makes provision for divorce, such cases were few and far between[67].

Unlike birth and marriage, the death of a Musalman, like that of a social being everywhere and in all ages, was certainly a mournful occasion. The corpse was washed and wrapped in cloth (*kafan*). After saying prayers for the departed soul (*nanaz-i-janaza*), the body was carried on shoulders to the grave accompanied by friends and relations on foot.[68] All the way people recited *takbir* and *darud*[69]. The royal funeral procession or that of men of high station, had all the insignia of royalty, pomp and show[70]. No food was cooked in the house of the deceased person for three days[71]. Among the posthumous ceremonies much importance was attached to *Sayyum* (the third day) also called the *Ziarat* ceremony, that is, visiting the grave on the third day after burial[72]. On this day *Quran* was read, and sweet-drink (*sharbet*), betel-leaves and food were distributed in the name of the deceased[73]. On the fortieth (*chihillum*), the same ceremonies were repeated.[74] Some persons observed the half-yearly and annual feasts.[75] There were—as are today—differences of detail between the Sunni and Shia modes of burial[76].

Social Etiquette and Obligations

The manners and etiquette are an index of a nation's civilization and the Muslim society was far ahead in this respect. The subtle and delightful rules of etiquette were scrupulously followed and the nice distinctions of manners were carefully preserved. According to the testimony of foreign travellers the Muslims were, generally, very civil and polite both towards

friends and strangers. The visitors were received in a drawing room (*Diwan khana*)[77]. They greeted each other with *Salam 'Alaikum* (Peace be upon you), coupled with an inclination of the body[78]. The inferiors would salute by raising their right hand to the head accompanied with a bow[79]. Aurangzeb abolished this un-Islamic mode of salutation which is restricted to the verbal pronouncement of the *salam* only[80]. But this decree of the bigoted Emperor could not kill *"Ram Ram"* from Muslim lips as a sheer inoffensive courtesy to their equals in the other community. Long after the promulgation of this decree, one Afridi chief of Khaibar writes a letter to Hari Singh Khangarawat, *ataliq* of Raja Ram Singh Kachhwaha's son Bishan Singh, greeting the Rajput chief thus: *"Biradar-i-man! az in janib Ram Ram"* (My brother! *Ram Ram* from this direction)[81]. This shows the liberal attitude of the average Muslim to meet the Hindu halfway in social courtesy. While greeting they never uncovered their heads[82]. As a rule, to come out in public bare-headed, bare-footed or improperly dressed, was deemed an atrocious indecence[83].

In their discourse they were modest and reserved. They did not make any gestures with their hands or head, nor talked aloud. They never contested a point[84]. When they would whisper to any one, they covered their mouth with a skarf or handkerchief so that their breath might not offend the other person[85]. The equals in their address used such affectionate terms as *gharib nawaz* (benefactor of the poor), *Bhai* (brother) or *Baba* (father)[86]. To show their reverence and respect to their superiors they would say, "I eat your bread and salt" that is, I am your servant, I live by you[87]. The greatest delight of a Muslim was to sit cross-legged and smoke tobacco or chew betels all day long[88]. At the time of taking leave of a person a *bira* of *pan* (betel-leaf) was offered which indicated that the person should now depart[89].

The table manners were very simple. The table (*dstaar khwan* or *Safra*) was spread on the ground. They used no napkins, and it was considered bad manners to use left hand in eating or to lick the fingers while eating, which should be done just after finishing the meals[90].

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. It is the chief of the Muslim festivals and is called *Id-ul-Kabir*, the great festival, to distinguish it from the *Id-ul-Fitr* which is known as *Id-us-Saghir*, the minor festival. Hughes, Dictionary of Islam, s.v. The authority for this sacrifice is an injunction in the *Quran*, XXII, 33-38. Muslims believe that great merit accrues to all who keep the feast, and this is borne out by a well-known tradition credited to 'Aisha, the youngest wife of Muhammad. She reported that Muhammad once said, "Man has not done anything on the *Id-ul-Azha* more peasing to God than spilling blood; for verily the animal sacrificed will come, on the day of resurrection, with its horns, its hair and its hoofs, and will make the scales of his (good) actions 'heavy'. Verily its blood reacheth the acceptance of God before it falleth upon the ground; therefore be joyful in it". *Mishkat*, , Book 4 ch. 49, 2.
2. Compare Roe and Fryer, p. 306, Pelsaert, p. 74.
3. *Id-gah*, the place where the *rites* of the 'Id festival are conducted. It generally consists of a pavement, with a wall to the west, facing east. The term lit. means, "the place of rejoicing".
4. Compare *Akbarnama*, Beveridge, II, 51. *Baharistan*, II, 742.
5. *Badshahnama (BI)*, I, 226, 430; Part II, pp. 101, 166, 256; II, 95, 191, 283, 332, 480, 624, 625. ". . .the like (*i.e.*, sacrifice of animal) does every one in his own House, that is able to purchase one, and sprinkle their Blood on the sides of their Doors". Roe and Fryer, p. 306.
6. Manucci, H, 349-50.
7. *Badshahnama*, II, 221. Roe and Fryer, p. 304. Pelsaert, p. 73, "When the new moon (of Id) was seen at candle light, the Imperial trumpet was blown and all the firearms of the artillerty were discharged simultaneously. . .From the early part of the evening till midnight, the artillery was continuously fired. In its later part the firing of guns was stopped and its place was taken by big canon". *Baharistan*, 1, 110.
8. *Ibid*, 1, 170.
9. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, Sarkar, pp. 18, 25, 36.
10. Manucci, IV, 235, *Akbarnama*, Beveridge, III, 614-15.
11. The Prophet is said to have fixed the tenth or *'Ashura* of Muharram as a time of fast, which was subsequently transferred to Ramzan. The Muharram seems to have been originally a harvest feast (*Encyclopaedia of Religions and Ethics*, III, 126; V, 82). The question of ancient sanctity of the month is discussed by Sale (*Koran*, Preliminary Discourse, p. 81). The Prophet had ordered that his

followers should observe certain additional customs on the '*Ashura* or tenth day. In certain historical and traditonal works it is stated that on the tenth day of Muharram many events of religious importance had occurred. For further details see Ja'far Sharif, *Qanun-i-Islam*, ed. Crooke, pp. 151-52.

12. For a full account of the events connected with the martyrdom of Imam Husain, son of 'Ali, the Fourth Khalif and the manner of celebration of Muharram in Hindustan see Muir, *Annals of the Early Caliphate*, chaps, 40. 42. Ja'far Sharif, *Qanum-I-Islam*, ed. Crooke, Ch. XIV, pp. 151-85. Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali, *Observations* on the *Mussalmauns*, ed. Crooke, pp. 17-54.
13. Tavernier, II, 177.
14. *Baharistan*, I, 190.
15. "This Festival is hardly ever celebrated without Bloodshed; for their being several Sunnis, who laugh at the others, and the Chyias (Shias) not being able to endure it, they often quarrel and fight, which is a very proper representation of the Feast; and at that time there is no enquiry made into man-slaughter, because the Moors believe, that during these ten days the Gates of Paradise are open to receive those who die for the Mussalman Faith". Thevenot, III, p, 106. Thevenot further adds a Shia-Sunni fight during Muharram at Bagnagar (in Golconda) which took place before him. *Ibid*, p. 106.
16. Peter Mundy, II, 219, "And this they (*i.e.* Muslims) do with so much fury and animosity, that should there be any of the Pagans (*i.e.* Hindus) in the Streets at that time, they would run the hazard of their lives; whence it comes, that during these Ceremonies (of Muharram), they (the Hindus) Sir not out of their houses". Mandelslo, p. 42.
17. *Vide* Faruki, *Aurangzeb and His Times*, p. 535.
18. Monserrate, p. 22.
19. Mandelslo, p. 42, For furher details about the celebration of Muharram during our period see Pelsaert, p. 75. Roe and Fryer, p. 306-07. Peter Mundy, II, 219. Thevenot, III, pp. 106-07.
20. Shab-i-Barat festival is very different from another religious observance called *Lailat-ul-Qadr* or *Shab-i-Qadr*, the "night of power", that mysterious night in the month of Ramzan, the actual date of which is said to have been known only to the Prophet and a few of the Companions. See Ja'far Sharif, *Qanun-i-Islam*, ed. Crooke, p. 203.
21. Some say that this night is referred to in the *Quran* at xliv: 2, "On the night wherein all things are disposed in wisdom",
22. *Tuzuk*, II, 22, 94, *Badshahnama*, I, Part II, p. 5; II, 167, 16, 216. Also

compare the account of Amir Khusrau who finds young urchins of Delhi playing with fire-works and making the city a virtual 'blazing hell of Abraham's legend'. He further states that everybody sent a few wick-lamps to illuminate the local mosque. Vide '*Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, lith. Lucknow, IV, 324. For further details of Shab-i-Barat celebrations during our period see Thevenot, III p. 31.

23. Compare for details Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, (BI)*, pp, 365-67.
24. *Vide* Dorn, *History of the Afghans*.
25. *Tuzuk*, I, 385.
26. *Badshahnama*, I, 364.
27. *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, English translation, p. 244. The death anniversary of the Prophet, is now called *Bara Wafat* (i.e., *bara*, "twelve" and *wafat*, "death"). For the details of the observance of this feast see *Qanun-i-Islam*, pp. 188-90. Compare a detailed description of the death anniversary of the Prophet celebrated in Bengal with illuminations in *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, p. 280. Also see Badauni (Lowe), II, 380.
28. *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, trans., p. 121, *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, English translation, p. 269.
29. *Ibid*, p. 269. The same continued during the reign of Sultan Mahmud III of Gujarat, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, trans, pp, 243-44.
30. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, trans, II, 520.
31. *Badshahnama*, I, 539; Part II, pp. 47-48; II, 102, 151, 199, 303, 335, 420.
32. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, Sarkar, p. 14. For Nauroz celebrations during our period see *Tuzuk*, I, 48, 49, 206. Mandelslo, pp. 41, 42. De Laet, p. 99. Sir Thomas Roe, p. 124. William Hawkins (Purchas big Pilgrimes'), III, 210. *Iqbalnama*, p. 8.
    Eihphinstone says, "The Nauroz, or vernal equinox, has always been a time of great rejoicing in these countries; but the Persians having ingrafted some fable about Ali, the patron of their religious sect, upon this ancient festival, it has fallen into disrepute with the Mussalmans of the opposite belief". *Account of Caubul*, I, 183.
33. *Tuzuk*, I, 265, 295 and note, 379.
34. Roe and Fryer, p. 304. For the details of this observance known as *Hilal* see Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali, *Observations* etc., pp. 156-57.
35. Roe and Fryer, p. 308. For details compare Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali, *Observations etc.*, pp. 158-59.
36. *Tuzuk*, I, 351. The feast is held in honour of the mythical Khwaja Khizr, "the green one", a water spirit identified with the Prophet Elisha (See Sale's Koran xviii, 63). Some people on every Thursday in the year put a few flowers and some sugar in a leaf plate (*dona*) and launch it in the water in the name of Khwaja Khizr. The

festival of raft (*bera*) should be observed on the last Thursday of the Mussalman year. The launching of the little boats is, in essence, a form of magic intended to carry away the evils which menace the community, and to secure abundant rainfall. Hindus also celebrate such a festivity in Bengal and elsewhere. For further details see *Qanum-i-Islam*, pp. 136-37. Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali, *Observations etc.*, pp. 154-56.

37. See an interesting account of Shahjahan's birthday celebrations in Mandelslo, p. 42.
38. Compare *Baharistan*, I, 16.
39. Manucci, III, 150.
40. *Baharistan*, II, 682.
41. Compare *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, trans, p. 121. The *Azan* or *Bang*, the call to prayer, is uttered into the right ear and the *kalima* or Creed into the left. It is generally done by the most honoured of a child's male relatives, or by the Preacher or *Khatib*, or even by a boy who gets a reward for saying it. *Qanun-i-Islam*, p. 24.
42. "The Moores or Mussalman have but one name, which they receive the second day after they are born, as followeth, *viz.*, The father or nearest relation to the new born sends for the Mulva (*Maulavi*) or Priest, who shutting a book, where when opened, the Mulva takes the first letter in that leaf, and the meaning thereof, calleth the child". John *Marshall in India*, ed. S.A. Khan, p. 405 ff. The naming of children is often done on the day of birth or on that day week. On the Muslim name and the manner of naming see *Qanun-i-Islam*, pp. 26-29, 33-4.
43. Manucci, III, 150. From the birth till the sixth or seventh day there is as much festivity as a family can afford. This feast is called *chhatti*, or the sixth day *rite*. See *Qanun-i-Islam*, pp. 35-37. Also see Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali, *Observations* etc., p. 212.
44. '*Aqiqa* properly means the hair of the new-born infant, but the term is applied by Metonymy to the shaving sacrifice. On tonsure (now called *mundan* (see *Encyclopedia of Religious and Ethics*, VI, 53. According to the Traditions the birth sacrifice is combined with the first shaving of the child's hair. On the '*Aqiqah* rite see *Mishkat*, trans. A.N. Matthews, II, 515. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I, 239, Rose's *Glossary*, III-226-27, *Qanun-i-Islam*, pp. 3-40.
45. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, English translation, II, 424. *Akbarnama*, Beveridge I, 519. *Amali-Saleh*, text, I, 31. Elphinstone says that after the initiation of the child "its studies are immediately laid aside, and not resumed till it is six or seven years old. . ." *Account of Caubul*, I, 249.
46. Compare *Akbarnama*, Beveridge, III, 102 for attendant rejoicings on

this occasion.

47. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann, I, 207.
48. Roe and Fryer, p. 281.
49. Compare for instance a ceremony described by Abul Fazl peculiar to the Mughals. When the child had just begun to stand on his legs, the father or the eldest male guardian was asked to strike him with his turban, so that the child fell down. *Akbarnama*, Beveridge, I, 396-397.
50. There is no place for celibacy in Islam. The Prophet frequently condemned it, for "When a Muslim marries he perfects half his religion". Hughes. *Dictionary of Islam, sub vocibus*, Celibacy and Marriage. Compare Badauni (Haig), III, 97, where an old woman was advised to marry in order to enable herself to attain spiritual knowledge. Also see Briggs *Firishta*, III, 158, Tavernier, II, 180.
51. Careri, III, p. 252.
52. Peter Mundy, II, 180. However, the testimony of foreign travellers should be accepted with caution. Any generalization regarding early marriage among the Muslims will be wrong. Muslims in general did not marry their girls before puberty, though the evil had sprung up perhaps in imitation of the Hindus. Akbar's legislation indicates that the evil was prevalent in both the communities, particularly in urban area as early as the days of Akbar, if not long before.
53. Compare Manucci, III, 152. *John Marshall in India*, ed. S.A. Khan, p. 404.
54. Compare Badauni (Lowe), II, 59.
55. *Amal-i-Saleh*, I, 44. The custom is also known as *mangni*, or "asking" the girl. Compare *Qanun-i-Islam*, p. 62.
56. Compare *Baharistan*, I, 140.
57. Compare *Tuzuk*, I, 159; II, 17-88. *Badshahnama*, I, 453; Part II, pp. 266-67; II, 137, 305.
58. *Tuzuk*, II, 202. *Badshahnama*, I, Part II, 267-6; II, 305.
59. *Manucci*, III, 150-51.
60. Mandelslo, p. 62 ff.
61. Pelsaert, p. 83.
62. *Badshahnama*, I, Part II, p. 270.
63. *John Marshall in India*, ed. S.A. Khan, p. 404.
64. Roe and Fryer, p. 279, Bernier, p. 259.
65. Compare Manucci, III, 151 for the observance of this custom during our period.
66. Badauni (Lowe), II, 211. Such marriages are also known as *Sigha* or *nikah-i-muwaqqat*. For religious sanction compare *Quran*, iv: 28. Mishkat, ii, 88, 90. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann, I, 174. *Mut'ah* literally

means "Usufruct, enjoyment". Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 424.

67. For further details see Thevenot, III, p. 22. Roe and Fryer, p. 281. P. Della Valle II, 31. Terry, p. 285. Pelsaert, pp. 1-84. Elphinstone, *Account of Caubul*, I, 237-39. Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali, *Observations etc.*, p. 179 ff.
68. *ED*, VI, 172. Ovington, p. 254.
69. *Amal-i-Saleh*, I, 163.
70. *Baharistan*, I, 257. Manucci, III, 153. Muslim burial is a solemn and simple affair. Therefore, Aurangzeb in his will forbade the observance of these innovations. Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, V. 264.
71. See graphic descriptions of the death ceremonies in Mandelslo, p. 63. *John Marshall in India*, ed. S.A. Khan, pp. 404-405. Roe and Fryer, p. 22, Terry, pp. 287-288.
72. Barani in his elaborate eulogy of Balban's virtues, says that he used to visit in person the houses of the deceased Shaikhs and Sayyids on the day of the *Ziarat*, or third day (*Sayyum*) after death. Text, p. 47.
73. Badauni, text, I, 248. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, trans, p. 249.
74. Badauni (Lowe), II, 50.
75. *Baharistan*, I, 213. Ovington, p. 245.
76. Brigg' *Firishta*, IV, 525. Badauni (Lowe), II, 376-77. For the details of the death ceremonies see *Qanun-i-Islam*, pp. 9-108. The custom of burying the dead is universal in Islam. It is said by commentators that God taught mankind to bury their dead when "God sent a crow to scratch the earth, to show him (Cain) how he might hide his brother's body". *Quran* v: 34. Cremation of the dead is strictly forbidden in Islam because the teaching of the Traditions is that a dead body is as fully conscious of the pain as a living one: "The breaking of the bones of a corpse is the same as doing it in life". *Mishkat*, V, ch, vi, part 2.
77. De Laet, p. 91.
78. Terry, p. 201. One person should say *as-Salam 'Alaikum* (Peace be upon you!) and the other would respond *wa'Alaikum as-Salam* (And also upon you be the peace!). Usually the comer or the person who first sees another should salute first, which is highly meritorious. No distinction is made of high and low though the inferiors are expected to take the initiative. For details see Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, art. 'Salutation.'
79. De Laet, p. 1.
80. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, trans, p. 62. There was always a tussle between Muslim saints and sovereigns about it; the former refusing to prostrate themselves or to bow their heads in honour of the ruling authority and they generally invoked the wrath of the latter.

Baharistan, I, 138. Badauni, text, I, 399, 404.

81. Letter of Dariya Khan Afridi, *Akhbarat*, Jaipur Archives, Diggi Collection.
82. Terry, p. 199.
83. *Siyar*, trans., I, 34, 436.
84. Careri, III, p. 252.
85. Mandelslo, p. 64.
86. Terry, p. 199.
87. *Ibid*, p. 200.
88. Roe and Fryer, pp. 180-81. Thevenot, III, p. 103. Peter Mundy, II, 96.
89. Briggs' *Firishta*, III, 39; IV, 257. *Siyar*, trans, II, 34, Peter Mundy, II, 97. P. Della Valle, II, 226.
90. De Laet, p. 92, Terry, p. 196.
    It is *sunna* to lick fingers after eating. Even today a rigid modernized Mulla after eating with spoon and fork might be seen licking his clean fingers out of sheer habit acquired for additional piety in imitating the practice of the Prophet of God who ate with his fingers.

12

Sects and the Path

India is a luxuriant field for the growth of schism and sects. Islam which had already broken up into the traditional seventy-three sects, got further disintegrated in Hindustan since its introduction into this country. The majority of the Muslim community was Sunni no doubt; but the people converted to Islam did not change all at once. Some of them retained their heretical practices, and formed themselves into new sects. Some of the sects in Indian Islam are peculiar to itself not to be found anywhere else. As early as the days of Sultan Alauddin Khilji we find the presence of sects following most abominable practices[1]. Sultan Firoz Tughlaq tried to root out the evil but in vain[2]. The author of *Dabistan-ul-Mazahib* or "School of Religious Sects"[3], writing about the middle of the seventh century, mentions a number of sects, their beliefs and practices, most of which are extremely abhorrent. The deplorable state of affairs betrays from the orthodox point of view a moral degradation of the Muslim community, and degeneration of Islam as a religion during the period under review[4].

The Prophet of God has prophesied that "My Nation (*Ummat*) will be divided into seventy-three[5] sects, and every one of these sects will go to hell except one". When asked 'which is that sect on which the sun of deliverance shall shine', he replied, '*Ahl-i-Sunnat wa Jama'at*'. Again questioned 'who are those', answered, 'those who tread on the path adopted by me and after

me my companions proceed on that'[6].

The Sunnis can, and do, claim to be the orthodox sect indicated by Muhammad in the tradition (*hadis*) quoted above, for a Sunni is one who follows the *sunna* or practice and acts of the Prophet. To be brief, he acknowledges the first four khalifast[7] as the rightful successors of the Prophet; he accepts the "Six Books" of Traditions[8] and attaches himself to one of the four orthodox schools of jurisprudence, *viz.*, Hanafi, Shafa'i, Malaki and Hunbali. He considers the '*ijma*' of those four great Imams to be binding on him.[9]

The phrase "Orthodox Muslims," means Sunnis and they far exceed in number the other sects. At present they predominate in all Muslim countries, except Persia. In Hindustan, during our period, the Sunnis of Hanafi school were in a predominant position.[10]

The Muslim reformers were almost exclusively Sunnis and reform means making people live a life of purity and virtue as interpreted by the Prophet through his teaching and practised by the Prophet himself.

The schism is Islam centres round the question of succession, that who should succeeded the Prophet in his role and the temporal head of the community. This is the rock on which Islam broke up in twain—Shia and Sunni—afterwards multiplied in number.[11] The fact is well illustrated in the origin of Khawarij, literally meaning 'seceders', being the oldest sect of all.[12] The Shias come next in number and importance. *Dabistan* states: 'The Shia sect is particularly attached to the *Khilafat* and *Imamat* of Hazrat Ali and his descendants and hold that *Khilafat* does not pass beyond him and his off-springs. They say that *Imamat* is not a question of expediency which hangs round the supreme authority of the people and the Imam should be elected by them; but the true decision is that which derives its origin and support from the pillars of the faith.'[13] The Shias stoutly deny that the succession can be open to election, and in consequence they reject (and often denounce) the first three Khalifas as usurpers. Their particular views on this question of the succession led to the formation of strange religious doctrines which further widened the breach between themselves and the orthodox.[14] But the matter did not end there. Disputations among the Shias themselves about the office of Imam caused the party

to split up into numerous sub-divisions, some say about seventy in number, each hostile to the others.[15]

Ismailis were another heretical group and a prominent sub-division of the Shias. *Dabistan* gives the following account of this sect: 'Ismaili is a group of Shias owning allegiance to Isma'il, son of Imam J'affar Sadiq (the sixth Imam).[16] They hold Isma'il as Imam because (according to them) Imam J'affar has entrusted *Imamat* to him. They do not act according to the Shariat and hold that they do not say whether God is or is not, world exists or is non-existent; God is all-powerful or otherwise and express similar opinions about the other attributes of God'.[17] As the Ismailis claimed to have been emancipated by their gospel from the obligation to observe the moral and religious code of Islam, they were believed by their detractors to be capable of every kind of wickedness and dissolute antinomianism and are accused of permitting marriages within the prohibited degrees and practising incest in their secret assemblies.[18] The Khojas[19] and Bohras[20] are the other sub-divisions of the Ismaili sect. The Khojas in Kathiawad and Gujarat consisted mostly of Hindu converts to Islam by a saint named Sayyid Imamuddin, whose tomb at Karmatah (9 miles outside Ahmedabad) was their chief shrine. They paid idolatrous adoration to their spiritual guide, kissing his toes and heaping up gold and silver on his feet, while he sat in royal splendour behind a screen.[21] The Bohras supplied the best oversea traders and retail dealers in the western part of India.[22] They had been converted to Shiaism by a famous Muslim saint many centuries ago. But an independent Sultan of Gujarat made several of them Sunnis and thus introduced an element of discord. Since then, the Bohras have been split up into two sects, fighting bitterly over their religious differences.[23] The laws of marriage, divorce and inheritance etc. of the Bohras are opposed, in several points, to those of the Sunnis. They have also cut down the five daily prayers which are obligatory on all Sunnis practically to three. They pray also like all Shias with their arms straight by their side, while the Sunnis do so with the arms folded.[24]

The Raushaniya, or "the enlightened", was a Sufi sect founded by an Afghan, Mian Bayazid Ansari, who was styled as *Pir-i-Raushan*, or the Enlightened Pir.[25] The Akhund Darweza, a venerated Afghan saint, dubbed him in derision *Pir-i-Tarik*, the

Darkened Pir, and the adherents of the sect were nick-named Tarikis.[26] Bayazid Ansari was born in the Punjab and flourished in the middle of the sixteenth century. At first a devout Muslim, he afterwards abandoned the exterior practices of Islam and devoted himself to meditation. His sayings, several of which are quoted in the *Dabistan*, express sound reason, pure morality and fervent piety. In the spirit of his nation and time, and for self-defence, he took up arms against the Mughals. His history and that of his sons is carried to the middle of the seventeenth century. It is interesting to note that Mian Bayazid composed a great number of works in four languages, *viz.*, Arabic, Persian, *Pashto* and Hindi (*i.e.* Sanskrit) and the gospel of this sect. *Khir-ul-Bivan*, is to be found in all the four languages.[27]

Akbar's *Din-i-Ilahi*, also called *Tauhid-i-Ilahi* (the Divine Monotheism), has been treated in the *Dabistan* as a sect of Islam under four heads: Firstly, the appearance of *Khalifat-ul-Allah*; secondly discussions on religions; thirdly, virtues of the stars; and lastly, the code of this order or the sayings of 'Arsh Ashiyani Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar[28]. Much has been said about this Sufi order, but it should be noted that *Din-i-Ilahi* did not die out all at once and disappeared with Akbar. Jahangir continued the tradition of his father and enrolled disciples (*chelas*).[29] Shahjahan bestowed upon Adil Khan *Shabih* (picture) and '*Ahadnama* (deed of contract) with an impression of his five fingers (*Panja*) on a request made by the latter.[30] Even in the days of Aurangzeb a man from Bengal travelled all along on foot to his court to be enrolled as a *chela*.[31] "The creed of this class exists in our days, although the name has not survived".[32]

The *Dabistan* speaks of a class among the Hindus who styled themselves Mussalman Sufis. Apparently they were the Hindu converts to the fold of Islam though they retained many features of their old belief. They shared in common several tenets and opinions with the Sufis. They pretend to be divided into fourteen sects. They alleged that they did not owe anything to the teachings of the Prophet; on the contrary, he had borrowed many excellences from them.[33]

This group of the so-called Muslim Sufis was very numerous in Hindustan during the period under review. Among the most celebrated of them, in the first line, were the Madariyas. The Madariyas, like the Sanyasis, rubbed ashes (*bhasma*) on their

body, used *bhang* excessively and always sat before a fire. They put on fetters round their necks, had black[34] flags and wore black turbans. They did not observe the fasts and prayers enjoined by Islam. According to them, when the Prophet was elevated to the skies (*mi'iraj*)[35] and when he reached Heaven he found its gate as narrow as the eye of a needle. Then the angel Gabriel[36] told the Prophet to invoke the help of Madar and say "Dam Madar!"[37] The Prophet acted accordingly, the gate widened and he entered Heaven.[38] The Madariyas are held to be the followers of Shaikh Badiuddin[39] better known as Shah Madar and regard themselves as Sunnis. Once in a year Muslims from all parts of the country flock to Makanpur (in U.P.), the burial place of Shah Madar.[40] Women who enter his shrine are said to be seized by violent pain as though they were being burnt alive.[41]

The Jalaliyan, the followers of Sayyid Jalaluddin Bukhari, (1307-1374 AD);[42] a disciple of Bahawal Haq, the Suhrawardi saint of Multan, whose shrine is at Uch in the Bahawalpur State, professed to be Shias. As the Madariyas were Sunnis, these two sects reviled each other. The members of this sect did not observe fasts and prayers and they never cared for the prescribed practices of piety of the Sufis. They used *bhang* and are said to be eaters of snakes and scorpions. When the adepts among them chanced to see a snake, they used to put it whole into their mouth and swallow it up, saying that it was the fish of Ali; in eating a scorpion they remarked that it was the prawn of Ali; and the worms were designated as the crabs of that holy personage. Like the Madariyas, the Jalaliyan went about almost naked even in the severest cold. They sat before a fire, like the Madariyas, but did not wear matted hair. They frequently shaved four parts of their body and led a wandering life.[43] The *Dabistan* states: "Their master (*Pir*) looks every day for a new connexion with a woman; whenever he knows of a fine girl among his disciples, he orders trumpets to be blown, goes on horse-back, and betaking himself to their house, uses his own discretion with the girl, whom he now and then takes to his own house, but never marries."[44]

There was another sect of the people who called themselves Be-qaid and Benawa.[45] They took nothing from anybody beyond the required food and drink, and for their indispensable clothing

they wore *Khirqa* (patched frock) sewn out of the shreds collected from the streets. When they asked anything from any person they used abusive language and called him bad names. The *Dabistan* states: "They hold that God is soul and Muhammad is body; his four Companions from two hands and two feet and *dam madar*, that is, Madar, is the breath and spirit of God." They took various kinds of intoxicants and believed in the unity of the Godhead. Some of them devoted themselves to religious austerities.[46]

The Kakans of Kashmir were the followers of Ibrahim Kakak, said to be a contemporary of Jahangir.[47] It is said that Ibrahim Kakak used to make a person lose his senses by having a look on him with the result that he would go after him. His disciples too were credited with this art. He attached to himself a great number of disciples, both Hindus and Muslims, but he never induced them to change their religion. He neither praised Muslims nor condemned Hindus, and never uttered the names of the Muslim prophets and Hindu incarnate gods (*Avatars*), except Ram and Allah. He never slept at night, nor did his disciples, who sat back to back uptill morn. They followed celibacy as a rule, believed in the unity of the Divine Being and used *bhang* excessively. Once a person asked Ibrahim Kakak not to drink *bhang* because "the bhang-drinkers shall not pass over the Bridge of Death (*Pul-i-Sirat*)."[48] Kakak replied: "Great is the number of *bhang*-drinkers; let us, on this side of the Bridge, build a town and call it *Bhangpur*, and not think of passing the Bridge."[49]

The Piyara Panthian[50] were associated with Baba Piyara.[51] While out for begging they stood before a house or a shop; they looked at nothing, said nothing and never asked anything. They accepted what was given and went away when nothing was offered.[52] They took no notice of the Mussalmans though they styled themselves as such.[53]

It is interesting to note that even the followers of these sects were not above communalism. The *Dabistan* states that once an army of naked Madaris and Jalalis came to a place of pilgrimage of the Hindus where *Sanyasis* had collected in large numbers. The Muslim sectaries having brought a cow, wanted to kill it. The *Sanyasis* bought the cow from them. They came a second time with another cow. The *Sanyasis* again purchased it. They

became insolent and counting on their number brought a third cow and killed it. The *Sanyasis*, indignant at this, attacked them and a battle ensued in which the *Sanyasis* got the upper hand and killed several hundred of the Jalalis and Madaris.[54]

Prayer the Telling of Beads and Sacrifice

Prayer without the presence of the self is not lawful under the Law:

How can my prayer be effective when I am drunk day and night?

If the lover does not perform his ablutions with his heart's blood,

According to the Master of Ceremonies of Love his prayer is not proper!

So long as thou art in existence how shall the Beloved be thy friend?

When thou shalt be no more the Beloved will become thy friend!

Whoever is tired of himself
Becomes the knower of mysteries, without a doubt!

My life has been offered as a sacrifice at the Feet of the Beloved;

Her countenance is my creed!
My prayer is my falling down in the drunken state,
The anguish of thy love in my heart is my Scripture!
The craze for freedom is astir every moment in my heart;
My body is now a prison to me!
I am without a self O Koh-kan! I am cutting own my life:
Thy stream of milk is worthier than this 'dear' life of mine!

Note.—The term Koh-kan literally means one who cuts down a mountain. One of the heroes of an Oriental love story was Farhad whose lady-love asked him to cut her a channel across mountains for a supply of milk for her. This he did. Hence the nickname of Koh-kan!

The Zahid is always engaged in ablutions, night and day,
But as for washing away dirt from his heart, he will do it not!

Who says that the lover says no *numaz*?
The whole existence of lovers is nothing but *numaz* itself!
The *numaz* of the Zahids is bending and prostration!

That of the lovers is renunciation of life itself!
When thou risest for *numaz*,
Art thou stirred inwardly in the heart then? Speak the truth!
There should stir such a longing at the time of prayer
That will produce a consuming tenderness in the heart!
The heart should then burn from the love of Truth like a roasting rissole,
Or as the melting snow by the heat of the sun!
If there is no fear of God in the heart
Where is thy *numaz*, then, O shameless man!
This is what the Maulvi has said in the Masnavi:
(Read it there if thou hast wisdom and understanding):
If the tongue be occupied with recitation and the heart with the bartering of an ox.
What efficacy can such a telling of the beads possess?
Anything other than the thought of Truth entering the heart
Is nothing less than a fever, O skilful one!
So long as thou dost not banish it from thy heart,
Thou shalt remain without understanding of the Light of Unity (Individuality)!
If thy *numaz* is without the presence of the heart
It is no *numaz* at all, O good man!
Thou art ignorant of the nature of the Light Divine:
How can it benefit thee then?
This is the defect in everyone's devotion;
But the good-natured devotee is unaware of it!
Which is tantamount to saying that whatever be the thought that is engrossing the mind—
That alone is one's God!
Remove this thought with the light of Divine Oneness;
It is never a worthy object to be entertained in the heart!
He is near and unveiled, and thou far away:
How, then, can thy *numaz* be successful, O dunce?
Think! Weigh the point in thy mind!
Ponder what thou hast learnt about it!
See! that Beloved One is enthroned (unveiled):
Thou art hidden by thine egoism!
Slay it with a huzzah for God!
This is what huzzah means, O brother:
Sacrifice thy body, as Ishmael did, O man of greatness!

So that thou shouldst become Khalil!

Note—Khalil is another name for Abraham. The word literally means a garden. According to a Muslim tradition, Abraham was thrown into a blazing fire which became a garden for him on account of his piety and faith.

If the face be towards the Ca'ba and the heart towards the world.
Where will thy *numaz* be, O unhappy man?
Shouldst thou desire, God, seek out God!
If thou dost not desire Him, do not repeat ancient formulae!
If thou hast not sought the Truth (and offerest *numaz*),
This is termed hypocrisy in religion!
O thou who prostratest thyself on the carpet!
Say, before whom art thou prostrating, if thou knowest not God!
Whoever goes through *numaz* without the presence of God
Is an idolater, undoubtedly!
Read what was plainly written by the Maulvi of Rum, O unfortunate man:
Until thou canst perform the *wuzu* (ablutions) with thine own blood,
How art thou qualified to offer the prayer of lovers?
For detachment from the Body is the real prayer—
The renunciation of self, of one's children, of desire!
It is stated in the Keemiya-i-Sa'dat:—

"As water washes away dirt so do the five *numazes* wash away sins . . . . For this reason the purpose of the *numaz* is to keep the heart in proper atonement with the Supreme Godhead, and to reawaken thoughts of God with perfect veneration and gravity . . . . . *Numaz* should be recited as if one were bidding someone farewell, which means to say that one has to part from one's egoism and desire (in fact, from all else except God) when saying it . . . . . The perfect and live *numaz* is one in which the heart is present from beginning to end . . . . . The secret of purification is this, that thou shouldst regard the washing of clothes and body as the washing of the cover, and . . . . . the cleansing of the heart, by repentance, regret and the giving up of bad actions, as the soul of that external purification. The body is the seat of the form of *numaz;* the heart is the abode of its merit . . . . . If a man stands up for *numaz* and has his mouth and heart

and desire, all turned to God, he emerges from it as if he has just been born, that is to say, he is absolved from all sin . . . . . Externally, thou shouldst stand with bowed head, like a slave, before God, and internally what is to be done is this, that the heart should be at rest from all agitations (excitement), that is to say, that it should be rid of all thought . . . . . From bowing and prostration is meant the humility of the body as a symbol, the internal significance being the lowliness of the heart . . . . . If a person desires to offer *numaz* in the presence of the heart, he should first of all undertake to cure it (the heart) of its ailment, and empty it of its contents (desires); and this is attained by withdrawing himself from the pursuits of the world, and being content with only the necessities of life."

It is said in the Bostan-i-Ma'rfat:—

Thou art of small ambition that for the possession of the two worlds

Thou extendest thy hand in prayer before the Self-existent One!

The Gnostic gives thanks only to his own Divine Self.

God be thanked that in whatever I demanded of Him

I have attained to the limit of my ambitions!

He thus prays to his own soul.

O King! Thou art Beneficient, Merciful and Forgiving:

Hold me by the hand for I am helpless, and unprotected by down or feather!

Make the end of Khakani secure by thy Benevolence and Goodness, O God!

For all are seeking food and slumber!

I am full of sins, thou art the River of Forgiveness,

Where there is thy Forgiveness of what account are my sins?

If they are to take the shortcomings and blunderings of the devotee into account,

What can be the meaning of God's Forgiveness and Beneficience?

I am a needy person, and have not courage to ask:

In the presence of the Bountiful where is the need of asking?

The World-revealing Gobiet is the Countenance of my Friend:

Where is the need of expression of one's need there?

My being and the conceit of being are both thy gifts:
My Life is altogether an invention of thine!
How can I offer thee thanksgiving and thanks?
What am I? All Power is from thee, O God!
These hands and feet, this tongue, the very word thankfulness
Are all gifts from thee, from none else!
Obedience and the capacity for obedience are both from thee!
Thy beneficience has ordained a hundred good things for me!
I have entrusted my all to thee;
Thou knowest the matter of profit and loss!
Bring that excellence to me that in the end
Thou shouldst be pleased and I released!
Make my doings good like thine own work!
Deal not with me according to my deserts!
I do not know how time goes by—
What of good and what of evil is happening in the world?
Before whom else can I complain against thee, for there is no other King;
No other hand is more powerful than thine!
None can mislead him to whom thou showest the way;
And none can direct if thou misdirect!
Hold me by the hand; my helplessness has passed the limit!
Lift up my head that I may offer my life at thy feet!
If every hair of mine were to become a tongue,
And from every one I were to compose a poem,
It would be impossible for me to thread the pearl of my thankfulness for thee—
To describe as much as the point of a hair of my obligation!
O Beneficient One show thy forgiveness to me;
For I am caught in the noose of desire!
O God! thou art merciful and forgiving!
Sins lie upon me in heaps!
I have no patron nor helper;
In my helplessness thou art the only friend I have!
I have no other to whom I may complain,
Thou art the only forgiver of sinners, and that is all!
Keep me from the path of error;

Forgive me my faults and let my merit be seen!
From thee is illumined the Moon of my faith;
Lift the veil from the face of my Beloved One!
Shouldst thy beneficence not look my way,
Who O God! would help me out of my sin?
Penniless and broken-hearted I have come to thy Court,
Except this heart, that is thine, I possess no other document (credentials)!

What is skill, what am I, whence the equanimity of the heart?

All these are reflections from thy reflection; they are but thee!

Up to the end of time I hope for kindness from thee, O God!
If I withdraw my hope from thee from where else could I draw hope!
I am Penniless, I am lowly, helpless, sick and sorry am I:
I hope for a cupful of that great all-healing Panacea!
I am without hope from myself and from the whole world:
I have no hope from anyone, but I have hope from thee!
Thou, too, saw how I behaved; thou hidst my fault mercifully:
Thou knowest well what expectation I have from thee!
I am bad, I have used bad speech, I have been bad all along, I have acted badly:
In spite of all this I hope for thy bounty!
O Friend! the light of my eyes has become blurred with weeping;
In this moment I hope the dust of thy lane will be an eye-salve for me!
Mahi says: My friend has shed my blood:
Even after this slaughter I have hopes of gifts from Him!

From the Behr-al-Haqeeqat we have:—

O God, O Absolute Master!
All that is high and all that is low is in thy power!
O God, the one that is the Beloved of Lover's soul!
The least of thy gifts are the two worlds!
O God! the Knower of the secrets of all hearts!
Take me out of the reach of the snares of the *nafs* (desire)!
O God! who art the bestower of success on the labour of all workers and without a need!

Open thou now the gate of thy goodness to me!
O thou that art the remedy for those afflicted by non-union,
The ointment for the lacerated hearts that are full of love's zeal!
Pierce thou my heart with thy love!
Render me unheeding to the business of this world!
Fill the heart with disgust for friend and stranger!
Remove the darkness of the heart at once!
Flood this darkened heart with Light!
Grant the healing ointment to my broken spirit!
Let me be distressed only in thy love!
Let desire and jealousy depart from my heart!
That which is the highest rank of all ranks—
Thy rank is a million times above that rank!
Grant me such understanding
That will open my inner Eye!
The parts and the whole of the universe are, unquestionably,
In thy power eternally!
Under thy command are being and also non-being!
Who has the daring to utter a word in the matter!
Make me insensible in thy love!
Make me intoxicated with the wine of Individuality for a moment!
Grant me O Lord! a cupful of that drink of self-forgetfulness
That will cut off the neck of selfishness!
If thy goodness will not take me by the hand,
I shall remain in the devil's power!
Every nerve and muscle is a snare for my life;
Every thought of mine is foolish!
But if thy Beneficence be helpful
It will transform black dust into gold!
This body shall then be filled with the Alchemical Elixir;
The heart shall become a gold-mine, by thy bounteousness!

Explanation of Prayer

It is said in the Behr-al-Haqeeqat:—
Everyone calls God the giver of food!
But no one understands what that means!
The words 'giver of food' are on their tongues;

Of their meaning men are unaware!
Man is ignorant of his Essence;
He is ignorant of the desired Goal also!
Whoever comes to know his constitution,
All hidden secrets shall be revealed to him!
For this reason, said that Excellent One:
He who understands himself becomes a knower
Open thine eyes. Hast thou none in thy face!
Yes, there are eyes but they are not far-seeing ones!
What you consider eyes, O man of piety!
Are eyes but they are not perceivers of the Truth!
Different are the eyes of the heart and its understanding!
They function in strange ways and manners!
To that Understanding distance makes no difference;
It sees every bad thing and every good one!
It has knowledge of everything from East to West:
Everything is visible in front of it!
Visible things and also the secret workings of living beings
Are known to it as at the middle day!
He stands not in need of being told;
The secrets of hearts lie open before Him!
I shall now show thee that method
Whereby thou canst be immersed in the Ocean of Individuality!
I approach the subject fearfully,
Lest there be ferment in the understanding of the common people!
Understand that man is composed of two elements:
Think of these two for thyself!
One of these elements is surpassing subtle;
The second is as much gross and vile!
The grossness of the body is seen by all;
And the subtleness of the soul is evident!
They are opposed to each other by nature:
(It is a mystery) that the incompatibles have come together!
There is present within thee an unbounded universe!
But thou dost not know thyself!
Hell and heaven are hidden within thee:
Why dost thou await the arrival of another?
There is in thee that power

O Man of purity of thought!
By which thou canst achieve whatever thou wishest to do!
If thou triest with heart and soul
Thou canst make thyself an angel and also a devil!
Thou art the source of the verses divine (doctrine)!
Thou art the expression of the Light of God!
In thee are collected all laws and mysteries divine:
Open thou thine eyes and see for thyself O man of little understanding!

Beat thou at the Gate of Bounty with seriousness of purpose:

So that the Passage of Delights be opened to thee!
Not these delights of this faithless world,
But those enduring joys of the unperishable one!
Those are delights that do not deteriorate!
What is perishable is mere dream or thought!
In power and strength there are many animals that are
More powerful than thyself, O brother!
What is the hidden Power? It is the power of the Soul
Before which mountains—sky itself—are as straws!
If the power of thy Soul be manifested,
Why mention fortresses, thou shalt even uproot mountains!
From the soul force will be demolished a mountain pass,
The moon may be pierced with it!
By the soul force one ascends to heaven;
By it Fire may be transformed into a well-arranged garden!
The least of its gifts are the two worlds:

How can a common person conceive of the power of the Supreme Soul?

What thou regardest as great treasure,
Is for it smaller even than a particle of dust!
The advice of Bu Ali Shah Qalander is finally this:

Do not soil the heart in the pursuit of things that will not abide:

From God demand nothing but God (-hood)!

Pilgrimage

Hafiz says:—

The benefit of a fast and the acceptance of the pilgrimage comes

To him who has paid his devotion to the dust at the door of the drinking booth!

Bekhud says:—

The Beloved is in the heart, thou seekest Him among structures of water and clay:

O Pilgrim! what wilt thou gain from such wanderings!

When thou knowest not thyself what benefit canst thou get from the Beloved?

Alas! Bekhud has not yet abandoned egoistic thought!

From the Tohfat-al-Ashqueen we have it:—

The true devotee brings his heart under control, for this is the great pilgrimage:

A single heart is more worthy than thousands of Ca'bas!

The heart is the corridor for the promenading of the Great One:

It is the repository of the Ca'bas of Azar's (son,) Abraham!

The heart is devastated with the thought of the other than God!

If thou knowest Him it becomes the Ca'ba!

Farid-ul-din Attar tells us:—

What is pilgrimage? Travelling away from one's self!

Whither? In the direction of Realization!

Thou, too, shouldst break the Idol in the Ca'ba, like Ali!

So that thou mayest perceive the glory of the King of Bounties!

Understand the Ca'ba to be thy heart, O man of patience!

To get some idea of the hidden meaning!

It is said in the Keemiya-i-Sa'dat:—

"O Beloved! Understand that there are two kinds of travels: one hidden, the other visible. The hidden journey . . . . is the traversing of the stages on the Path of Spirituality. It is the journey of men when they have remained seated in their houses with the body, but have travelled to heaven with the heart . . . . . The reason is this, that the world of angels is the heaven of the gnostic; and there is no bar or obstacle to its approach. It is to this journey that God calls men."

Junaid has been a powerful dervish in Islam. Once upon a time a man came to see him who had just returned from pilgrimage to Mecca. Junaid's questions that were put to the man form very instructive reading. Their essence is as follows:—

Junaid: From the moment that you departed from your house did you also depart from sinning?

The Pilgrim: No, sir!

Junaid: Then you have not travelled at all! And when you passed stage after stage on your journey and halted at a place at night, did you also traverse a stage on the Path of Truth!

The Pilgrim: No, sir!

Junaid: Then you have not traversed the stages of the journey! And when you put off your garments and donned the pilgrim's robe, did you put off human thoughtfulness also and throw it away?

The Pilgrim: No, sir!

Junaid: Then you have not donned the pilgrim's robe at all! And when you stood at the place of Arafat, did you for a moment stand in contemplation of God?

The Pilgrim: No, sir!

Junaid: Then you have not stood at Arafat at all! And when you circumambulated the Ca'ba did you meditate on the glory of God?

The Pilgrim: No, sir!

Junaid: Then you have not circumambulated the Ca'ba! And when you ran between Safa and Marva did you attain to the purity of the heart and fidelity?

The Pilgrim: No, sir!

Junaid: Then you have not run between Safa and Marva at all! And when you threw the pebbles, then did you also throw away your sensual lusts from you?

The Pilgrim: No, sir!

Junaid: Then you have not thrown the pebbles. And when you offered a sacrifice at the place of slaughter did you also sacrifice a worthless thing, the love of the world?

The Pilgrim: No, sir!

Junaid: Then you have not offered sacrifice; and you have no gone on pilgrimage either!

It has been pointed out in the Keemiya-i-Sa'dat that the pilgrim's journey is like the journey of death. As a man has to give up the world at the time of death, in the same way one is required to break away from it at the time of going on pilgrimage. Undoubtedly, a mere covering of distance over earth cannot be termed pilgrimage.

It is said in the Behr-al-Haqeeqat:—

The physical pilgrimage, O brother! is undertaken by all:
The one to the Worshipful Place is the work of Men!
Shamsh of Tabrez enjoins:—
That journey is to be performed within the heart:
It does not mean travelling over land from one place to another!
Travel from thyself to the heart, and from the heart to Life!
And not over the countries of the world with the physical body!
That road is to be traversed with Life, not with feet:
Sacrifice thy self also with courage on that way!

Fasting

It is said in the Keemiya-i-Sa'dat:—

"God's name should only be taken in meditation on God. One should not seek to advance one's material interests with the aid of religious observances. Filth should not be introduced into a shining Jewel! . . . So long as the heart is not purified from the stain of thoughts of the other than God, it will not be prepared for devotion to God . . . The eating of that which is unclean is forbidden . . . One should not say *numaz* on a cloth which is used by ordinary men to sit upon. I do not know why people eat food prepared by careless hands. Why do they not observe carefulness in regard to it, when in the matter of food carefulness is of the utmost importance?

"The secret of purification is this, that thou shouldst regard the washing of clothes and of the body as the washing of the cover, and . . . the cleansing of the heart as the soul of that external purification. And this is how the purification of the interior is to be effected: be sorry for sins committed and resolve firmly not to sin any more . . . Repentance renders sins of no effect, and wipes them out.

"If desire be strong, the remedy is to take a purgative to purge out the evil from the heart; and this is the recipe of the purgative: whatever be engrossing thy attention, give it up. The thought of it will not leave thee unless thou givest it up . . . For instance, if a man who is sitting under a tree desires not to hear the singing of the birds on it, and takes a stick and frightens them away they will immediately return to it. Hence, if he

wishes to stop hearing their singing, the remedy is to cut down the tree itself, for so long as the tree is there it will constantly be attracting birds . . . "One should give away the best, the most costly but lawfully acquired article to a needy person, because what is a source of distraction cannot be the means of approaching God.

"The smell of the mouth of him who is fasting is more agreeable to God than that of musk . . . . The sleep of him who fasts is devotion; his breathing is like the telling of beads; his prayer near to acceptance . . . . Lusts are soldiers in the army of the Devil, and fasting routs his army, because the essence of fasting is the giving up of lusts. . . . Fasting is the gateway to devotion. These excellences are attained because desires are obstructors of devotion, and gratification goes to stimulate them, but hunger kills them. . . . The fast of excellent saints is the most meritorius. This is how it is to be observed: keep the heart pure from all kinds of thoughts except those of God; resign thyself completely to Him, and abstain, both internally and externally, from all else, and keep away from it. When a man thinks of anything other than God and the associated ideas, the fast is broken. . . . And the observance of a fast proceeds in this way, that its observer should make himself like angels, for they have absolutely no desire. It dominates cattle, for which reason they are far from the angles. The man who is in the grip of desire is also on the same level as cattle. He becomes like angels when he controls his desires. . . . When a person understands that fasting is meant to break down desire and to purify the heart, he should take care of his heart. . . .

"One hour's meditation is equal to a whole year's devotion . . . Meditation produces three things: 1. Divine Wisdom, 2. the ecstasy of Self-realization, and 3. proper conduct. One should always think of God. Do you want your own good? Frequent meditation is its key! Meditate much, not little; often, not now and then. . . . The man who thinks of God and who is surrounded by ignorant men is like a living being among the dead. . . . When he will be so engrossed and taken up with divine meditation that he will forget all else but Truth, he will then have arrived at the first stage on the Path of Progress.

. . . This stage is called that of nothingness or annihilation. This means that whatever else was has been annihilated by His

meditation, and that the seeker has also been annihilated himself, so that he has forgotten himself. . . . When a man has reached this stage he begins to perceive the forms of the angels. The souls of the angels and prophets appear to him in pleasing forms. The things that are specially within the knowledge of God then begin to be revealed to him. Other great signs appear which cannot possibly be described. . . .

"Man should consider himself as being on a journey, and should look upon the hereafter as his home. A journey is full of discomfort, but peace and happiness are for him who will put his best foot foremost and seek the ease of life at home. The duration of life is apparent, and obviously cannot be compared with that to be enjoyed in salvation. It is not strange if a person puts himself to trouble and undergoes suffering for a year to qualify himself thereby to enjoy happiness for a decade. Then, what is surprising in one's undergoing hardships for a hundred years to enjoy happiness for a hundred thousand years, nay, for all eternity?

"Do not eat with avidity; from thy righteous earnings eat according to thy needs. . . . Give thanks if food has come from a righteous source; weep and grieve if it is obtained from a doubtful animal; do not stand on its back . . . do not hit it on the mouth with a stick.

"Do not seek large profits. . . . Whosoever becomes forgetful of the business of the Faith because of the business of the world is unfortunate. . . . Those wise men are great enemies of Go who go to princes, and those are the best of princes who go to the wise men. The wise are the deputies of the Prophets. Abu Zar has said: Keep away from the court of kings; whatever thou shalt obtain from their world, thou shalt lose more than that of thy Faith. . . . The nearer a wise man approaches a king, the further he moves away from God. One should feel as much disgust for him who hates God as one feels for an enemy. . . . Some ancient leaders have even gone beyond the limit and refused even to return the greetings of tyrants. . . . It is necessary to show enmity towards the infidel who incites men to evil deeds, so that the people may despise him. The best thing to do is not to encourage him, nor to exchange greetings with him . . ."

Says Sa'di of Sheeraz:—

I asked from the wise a word of advise:

They told me not to sit with the ignorant!
For if one be a world philosopher one would become an ass;
And if unenlightened, then a greater fool!
Friendship with a sweet tongued fool
Is it to be avoided; it is like deadly poison!

It should be the ambition of every layman that he becomes a saint one day. He is advised to retire from the world at least at the end of youth. It is the teaching of the Gnostics:—

The caravan has left, thou art still asleep; and the way lies through the desert:

How shalt thou perform the journey? Whom shalt thou ask for guidance? What shalt thou do? What will happen?

Woe on youth that is wasted:
Happy is he who is freed from the world!

These are from Hafiz; Firdosi says:—

Grey hair is a message from Death:
What more hopes hast thou from existence?

Here is a *ghazl* from Khakani:—

It is time that we passed out of this abode of death:
The caravan is gone, and we have to be going too!
We have not laid by provisions for the way:
The journey is long and we are ignorant of the way!
Father, mother, son, dear ones, all have gone away:
Strange is this delusion and short-sightedness of ours!
Every moment we see friends passing away;
We have not wit enough to think of our own end!
Our real home is a corner of the graveyard;
It will be a happy day when we carry our belongings there!

Our houses, the cloister, the halting stage, are all in the cemetery

And we still think of erecting palaces with balconies and doors!

We may put together the wealth of the whole world,

From here we can take away nothing more than a piece of shroud with us!

The Bostan-i-Ma'rfat has it:—

When thy life has been carried off by Death
How will funeral obsequies help thee then?

The Seraj-al-Salikin says:—

Wake up from thy deep slumber, for old age has arrived;

This is not moonlight but the early glow of the day of departure!

The walk of the broken-down me is like the fluttering of a dying bird;

At every step there is apprehension that I may drop on the way!

Alas! that thy life has been wasted in sleep;

A little of it is still left: seize it; make haste!

Thy life is like the water of a stream;

When once the water is past it can never come back into the current!

Thou art here for a few days like a wayfarer:

Consider this world as a stream!

In the Behr-al-Haqeeqat it is said:—

Three times twenty years hast thou spent in experiences of pleasure and pain;

Thy body, too, has become bent like a crescent

Thou hast ever been engaged in making and breaking things:

Now thou hast been caught by the hook, like a fish!

Those teeth of thine which used to shine like pearls,

They are now more offensive-looking than broken pieces of shell!

That bright complexion that was like the Moon—

It is now frightful to behold!

The dainty body which used to be of cypress-like elegance—

What has age done to its lustre?

That dancing eye that the world adored—

The cataract has dimmed its lustre!

The eye-brow that was nicknamed the keen-edged sword

Now looks unsightly like the damaged tailpiece of a saddle!

Often there is headache from neuralgia;

At times there is pain in the kidneys, and in the liver!

There is pain in the stomach from indigestion;

The face has become distorted with the difficulty of breathing!

The ears have become deaf due to excess of wind;

From excess of phlegm the sight has been weakened!

All the indications of the journey are, in fact, manifest;

But thou art as deluded as ever!
Thou possessest no provisions for the way
And the journey is such an unending one!
For God's sake wake up a little now!
Do not waste thy remaining breaths!
With every breath the caravan of life covers many stages—
Ceaselessly it travels!
Thou art still engrossed in slumber and food!
It (the caravan of life) covers great distances in a moment!

Description of Death

(From the Behr-al-Haqeeqat.)

(None can be of help when death comes.) Neither relations, nor brother, nor friends,
Neither father nor tender-hearted mother,
Neither son, nor daughter, nor uncle nor aunt,
Nor even a slave or a damsel, nor wealth.
They who hold thee now dearer than life
Will flee miles from thy corpse!
Those who are ready to sacrifice themselves now for thee, like black seeds,
Will one day close their nostrils to avoid the stench from thy body!
This body of thine which is the envy of the Moon,
Will be stinking more horribly than the carcass of a dog!
They on whom thou dotest and hoverest over, like the wind
Will not think of thee even once in many years!
This wife, this son, thy mother, uncle, the husband of thine aunt—
They will cling to thee, like parasites, only whilst thou livest!
After thy death they will be here and thou far away;
They will be absorbed in their own affairs (not in thee)!'
Wake up! Attend thou, too, to thine own affairs!
Cease to slumber, O thou of little understanding!
Every breath that thou takest in that condition of deep delusion
Means another brick that has been pulled out of the structure of thy life!
Thy breath is always busy like a saw,

In cutting down the tree of thy life!

The householder layman is enjoined to be charitable and otherwise good:—

The miser shall never see the face of heaven:
He will be crushed as a fly under the foot of an elephant!
These three types are unmistakable signs of vile nature:
He earns his livelihood by perversity;
He is without cleanliness, and too lazy to rise early from his bed:
He avoids the company of the Knowers of Truth!
O my son! thou shouldst not befriend a bad friend,
So that thou mayest not find thyself engaged on evil work!
Always associate with saints,
So that thou mayest attain to heaven for certain!
The love of saints is the key to heaven;
Cursed are those who hate them!
Seek the shadow of a saint,
So that God may take care of thee!
Four things attain to perfection by four other things:
Bear this in thy mind, if thou be wise!
Wisdom becomes perfect by Reason;
Religion by practice!
Faith is perfected when supported by abstinence;
Life's blessings by gratitude!

It is certain that intellectual study leads to the perfection of intelligence;

Also that none can be righteous who practise not righteousness!

The foolish gain nothing from books:
Avoid thou him who is not thoughtful!
Knowledge without understanding is vain, my son!
Knowledge is like a bird and reason its down and feathers!
Whoever is learned and yet without practice—
Has undoubtedly a defect in his intellect!
Whoever is the doer of evil, O my son!
Thou shouldst regard him as dead; he is not alive!
No one has ever died from contentment;
None ever became a king from lust!

We have it in the Rehbar-i-Haq:—

"Good or evil results flow from all actions and deeds. And

the result is connected with the intention. If the intention is turned toward Truth, good is its direct result; if it be directed toward the *nafs*, it is always bad. There is, however, an exception in the case of certain acts, such as gambling and sinfulness which produce thoughtlessness and deluding stupor. There is no merit whatsoever in such deeds."

The stability of prosperity is with the knower of Truth,
Its dissipation with the ungrateful!
If thou recognisest that it is through the grace of Truth,
Eternal blessedness shall stay with thee!

Notes and References

1. Amir Khusrau writes about the *Ashob-i-Ibahat* of Alauddin's days, "It was discovered that among these shameless wretches, mothers had cohabited with thir own sons and aunts (mother's sisters) with their nephews, that the father had taken his daughter for his bride and there had been connection between brothers and sisters". *Khazain-ul-Futuh*, text, p. 21; trans, p. 12. According to Richardson *Ibahat* means 'license, licentious men'. Hughes defines *Ibahiyah* as "A sect of libertines who consider all things lawful". *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 188.
2. See *Fatuhat-i-Firuz Shahi*, *ED*, III, 378-380.
3. In the translation of the *Dabistan* by David Shea and A. Troyer the name of the book has been given as *"The Dabistan or School of Manners"*. The title, though preserved out of a regard for Francis Gladwin, who first published the translation of a part of this work under this heading, is misleading and vague.
4. Compare the account of Sir Thomas Roe. He says, 'Among the Mughals there are many strict Muslims, many that follow Ali, his son-in-law, and other new risen prophets, which have their Xeriffs, mullas and priests, their mosques, religious votaries, washings, prayings, and ceremonies infinite; and for penitentiaries, no heresy in the world can show so strange examples, nor brag of such voluntary poverties, punishments, sufferings and chastisements as these; all which are esteemed holy men, but of mingled religion, nor upright with their great Prophet', p. 274.
5. Seventy-three proved a vague number and in the course of time the total number of the Muslim sects exceeded beyond that. The early Muslim heresiologists, Abdul Qahir al-Baghdadi and Shahrastani, to quote no others, were at very great pains to make up, in their enumeration of the sects sprung from Islam, the

traditional number of seventy-three. According to Shahrastani the Magians were divided into seventy sects; the Jews into sevety-one; the Christians into seventy-two; and the Muslims into seventy-three. Among the sects there was always one to be saved. Vide *Dabistan*, Shea and Troyer, 1, 323 *note*.

6. *Mishkat*, Book I, ch. VI, 2. *Dabistan*, p. 258. It is interesting to note that the Shias now challenge the very authority of this Tradition and they quote another Tradition. "The difference among my people (*ummat*) will be a blessing'. Thus they try to snatch away from Sunnis the claim of being the followers of official Islam.
7. They are Abu Bakr, Umar, Usman and Ali. The first who took the title of Khalif was Abdullah better known by the name of Abu Bakr, "Father of the Virgin", so called because 'Aisha, his daughter, was the only one of Muhammad's wives who had not been before married to another man. He was also distinguished by the title of *Siddiq* or "the faithful witness", given to him because he, the first Muslim after the Prophet's preaching, attested the miracle of the Prophet's ascension to heaven (*miraj*). It was he who collected the verses of the *Quran* which were written upon separate leaves, into one volume, called *Al-Mushaf*, "the book by excellence," the original text of which was deposited in the hands of Hafsat, daughter of Umar and widow of Muhammad. After a reign of two years and three months, he died in the year 13 of the Hijra (634 AD).

Umar ibn al-Khattab, known under the title of *Faruq*, "the separator," so called by the Prophet because he had separated the head from the body of a Mussalman who, not satisfied with the decision which the Prophet had given in a law-suit, came to submit the case to Umar's revision, succeeded Abu Bakr. Under Abu Bakr's khilafat, Umar acted as chief of Justice, or chancellor. As Khalif he was the first who took the title of *Amir-ul-Muminin*, "Prince or commander of the faithful," which title devolved to all his successors. After the reign of ten years he was killed at the hands of a Persian slave (643 AD), who, having complained of his master's cruelty to him, did not receive the expected redress. Umar, a judge cruel but just, would not fix the right of succession upon his son, but wishing to keep the khilafat elective, named six persons, called *Ahl-i-Shura*, "People of Council," who should choose a Khalif among themselves.

Usman bin Affan was called by his partisans *Zunnurain*, "the possessor of two lights," because he had married two daughters of the Prophet, Bakiah and Kulsum. Usman published the *Quran* such as it was in the original text, *Al-Mushaf*, and he caused all

copies, differing from this one, to be suppressed. The reign of this Khalif terminated after eleven years by his violent death in an insurrection which took place against him in Egypt.
After Usman's death 'Ali was proclaimed Khalifa. He was cousingerman and son-in-law (husband of Fatima, the eldest daughter) of the Prophet and thus the head of the family of the Hashimites, who were distinguished by the name of "the house of the Prophet." Ali's title was *Asad-Ullah al-Ghalib*, "the Lion of God, the Victorious." Possessed of great learning, he composed several celebrated works in prose and verse. He was assassinated in Kufa in the year 40 of the Hijra (660 AD). See *Encyclopaedia of Islam, sub-vocibus*.

8. It is the belief of all Muslims, whether Sunnis or Shias, that in addition to the revelation contained in the *Quran*, the Prophet received the *Wahi ghair Matlu* (lit. "an unread revelation"), whereby he was enabled to give authoritative declarations on religious questions, either moral, ceremonial, or doctrinal. The Arabic words used for these traditions are *Hadis*, pl *Ahadis*, "a saying"; and *Sunnah*, pl. *Sunan*, "a custom". The Traditions are the records of what the Prophet did (*Sunnat-ul-f'il*), what he enjoined (*Sunnat-ul-qual*), and that which was done in his presence and he did not forbid (*Sunnat-ul-taqrir*). They also include the authoritative sayings and doings of the Companions of the Prophet. The following are the *Sihah-us-Sittah*, or "six correct" books, received by Sunni Muslims:—(1) Muhammad Isma'il *al-Bukhari*, AH. 256. (2) *Muslim ibn al-Hajjaj*, AH. 261. (3) Abu 'Isa Muhammad *al-Tirmizi*, AH. 279. (4) *Abu Daud* al-Sajistani, AH. 275. (5) Abu Abdur Rahman *al-Nasai*, AH. 303. (6) Abu Abdullah Muhammad *Ibn Majah*, AH. 273. Compare Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, pp. 639, 643.
9. Compare *Dabistan*, Shea and Troyer, II, 322 ff. *Ijma* literally means "collecting", or "assembling", and in Muslim divinity it expresses the unanimous consent of the Mujahidin (learned doctors). Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 197. The four Imams of the Sunnis are the following:—(1) An-Numan ibn Sabit al-Kufi (AH. 0-150; AD. 699-767) commonly known as Imam *Abu Hanifa*. (2) Malik ibn Anas (Ah. 95-179; AD. 713-795). (3) Muhammad ibn Idris al-Shafai (AH. 150-204). (4) Abu Abdullah Ahmad as-Shaibani al-Marwazi *Ibn Hunbal* (AH. 164-241; AD. 780-855). For details see *Encyolopaedia of Islam, sub-vocibus*.
10. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, Sarkar, p. 314. Briggs *Firishta*, IV, 449-450.
11. The points of faith in dispute among the Muslims are reducible to four general heads, called the four bases or great fundamental articles. The first relates to the attributes of God, and His unity

consistent therewith; the second regards predestination and the justice thereof; the third concerns the promises and threats; the fourth treats; history and reason, and also the mission of prophets, and the office of Imam. Over these knotty disputations Muslims are divided into different sects, which may be classed under two principal heads: the *orthodox* and the *heretical;* the former by a general name, are called *Sunnis;* the latter *Shias*. *Dabistan*, Shea and Troyer, I, 101 *note;* II, 324 *note*.

12. *Kharaja*, 'to go out', came to mean rebel and then a special brand of theological rebel. Khawarij is a sect of Muslims who affirm that any man even pious women may be promoted to the dignity of *Khalifa*, even though he be not of the Quraish tribe (the tribe to which Muhammad belonged), provided he be elected by the Muslim nation. They acknowledge only Abu Bakr and Umar as true *Khalifas* and reject the *Khilafat* of Usman and Ali. See for details Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 270. Gibb, *Ibn Batuta*, p. 379. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v. Brockelmann, *History of the Islamic Peoples*, p. 70 A.S. Tritton, *Muslim Theology*, pp. 18, 35, 38.
13. *Dabistan*, text, p. 270.
14. For Shia beliefs and an account of that sect See *Ibid*, Shea and Troyer, II, 362 ff.
15. It is stated in the *Tazkira Mazahib-i-Haftad was Sehgana* that the Shias are divided into twenty-two sects, each one calling another a *Kafir* (unbeliever). *Dabistan* also states: "Among the Shias regarding the priority of *Imamat* there is great deal of difference. For every Imam there is a discourse concerning his having been the first or the last and the greatest amount of disunity exists as to the exact number of the Imams", p. 270. The largest number of the Imams is twelve and the Shias who believe in twelve Imams are called *Isna-ashariyyas*, or "twelvers". The twelve Imams are as follows:—
    1. Ali, Khalif, and Imam, was murdered AD. 661.
    2. Hasan, eldest son of Ali, Khalif and Imam, poisoned AD. 669.
    3. Husain, the second son of Ali, killed in battle at Karbala AD. 680.
    4. Ali, surnamed *Zain-ul-Abidin*, eldest son of Husain, died AD. 712.
    5. Muhammad Bakr, son of Ali, poisoned AD. 734.
    6. J'affar Sadiq, son of Muhammad, died AD. 765.
    7. Isma'il, son of J'affar Sadiq: *see* hereafter the account of the Ismailia sect. Herbelot names, as the seventh Imam, Musa, the second son of J'affar, surnamed as "*Sabir*", "the patient", and "*amin*", "the faithful guardian." The latter died AD. 799.

8. Ali Raza, son of Musa, poisoned AD. 816.
9. Muhammad, son of Ali Raza, called also Abu J'affar Muhammad, died AD. 835.
10. Ali Askari, son of Muhammad, poisoned AD. 868.
11. Hasan, son of Ali Askari, poisoned AD. 873.
12. Muhammad, son of Hasan, surnamed *Mahdi*, "conductor, director"; he is supposed to be still living, and expected to appear as the rescuer of the Muslim world.
It may be remarked that, of the twelve Imams, seven died a violent death, and two in an unknown manner. See *Encyclopaedia of Islam, sub-vocibus.*
16. J'affar, surnamed *Sadiq*, "the just", was the eldest son of Muhammad Bakr, the fifth Imam J'affar was born in Madina in the year of the Hijra 83, AD. 702; he is acknowledged the sixth Imam, and of great authority in religious matters among the Mussalmans. He died in his native town, under the Khilafat of Abu J'affar Al-Mansoor, the second Khalif of the Abbasides, in the year of the Hijra 148, AD. 764, in his sixty-second year.
The two eldest of his seven sons were Isma'il and Musa. Isma'il, the elder of the two, having died during his father's life, the latter appointed Musa his successor, which gave rise to the contest above mentioned, and to several sects, as well as two great dynasties. The Fatimide Khalifs in Egypt are considered as descendants of the branch of Isma'il, called Ismailia, of Africa, but the Saffavide monarchs of Asia claim to derive their origin from Musa, and strenuously support his title to the seventh Imam. *See Dabistan*, Shea and, Troyer, II, 397-398 and *note*.
17. *Ibid.*, text, pp. 280-281.
18. For details see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, II, 246 *Imperial Guzetteer of India* edited 1908, VII, 291 *ED* II, 571-575. The most noted leader of this sect was Hasan-i-Sabah (the Old man of the Mountains), who founded the order of the Fidais or Assassins and concentrated his power at Alamut in Dailam (Northern Persia), *ED* II, 490.
19. The Fatimide or Ismaili Khalif Mustansir who reigned from 1036-1094 AD. had two sons, Must'ali and Nizar. Their rival claims divided the sect into two rival branches, a Western (Egyptian or North African) and an Eastern (Persian and Syrian). The Bohras belong to the former or Must'aalian section, the Khojas or followers of Hasan-i-Sabah to the latter or Nizarian. Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, II, 199, 204.
20. According to the traditional history of the sect, 'Abdulla, their first *Da't*, Missionary or Apostle, is said to have landed at Cambay in AH 460 (1067 AD) and a second propagandist named Muhammad

Ali to have arrived in 532 AH (1137 AD). Enthoven, *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, II, 266. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I, 738. Ibn Batuta met at Gandhar near Broach the wealthy. Mussalman ship-owner Nakhoda Ibrahim, the son of Khoja Bohra (Defremery, IV, 5). Both these sects were persecuted by Aurangzeb. See Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, III, 99; V, 427, 433, 434.

21. *Ibid*, V, 434.
22. See Badauni (Haig), III, 3.
23. Qazi Abdul Wahhab belonged to this clan. See *Maasir-ul-Umara*, I, 235-241. Khafi Khan, II, 216, 217. Compare Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, III, 99.
24. Enthoven, *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, II, 226. Also see *Bombay Gazetteer*, IX. Part II, pp. 24-57. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, II, 549. Sherring, *Hindu Castes and Tribes*, II, 183. The Bohras throughout India numbered 129, 473 in 1881.
25. Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 70.
26. Raverty, *Notes on Aghanistan*, p. 46 *note*. Akbar who was very fond of word-play was delighted with the anithetical retort and his historians were only too ready to repeat and ring the changes upon it.
27. For details see *Akbarnama*, Beveridge, III, 670, 709 and *passim*. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, trans., II, 608, 609, 619, 637, 649. Badauni, Lowe, II, 357, 360, 361, 362, 366, 368, 393, 401. A monograph on the Raushaniya sect by Dr. Leyden in the XI Vol. *Asiatic Researches*. An article by Dr. I.H. Qureshi in the *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1941, pp. 364 ff. *Dabistan*, Shea and Troyer, III, ch. IX, p. 26 ff.
28. For an account of this sect see *Ibid*, Shea and Troyer, III, ch. X, p. 49 ff. *Akbarnama*, Beveridge, III, 369-371. Badauni, Lowe, II, 314.
29. Tuzuk, I, 60, 61; II, 11. *Baharistan*, I, 74.
30. *Badshahnama*, I, Part II, pp. 167, 174.
31. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, text, pp. 333, 334.
32. Compare *Dabistan*, Shea and Troyer, I, clxxxiv.
33. *Ibid*, text, p. 213.
34. Black is the colour of the Sunnis. This supports Professor Wilson's statement, agreeing with the *Dabistan*, that the Madariyas are Sunnis. Vide *Dabistan*, Shea and Troyer, II, 223 *note*; text, p. 215.
35. Literally "An ascent", Muhammad's supposed journey to heaven; called also *Isra*, "the nocturnal journey". It is said to have taken place in the twelfth year of the Prophet's mission, in the month of Rabi-ul-Awwal. According to Abdul Haq, there are some divines who regard this miraculous event as a mere vision, but, he adds, the majority hold it to be a physical journey. For further details see

Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, pp. 351, 352.

36. The angelic being who is supposed to have been the medium of the revelation of the *Quran* to Muhammad. He is mentioned only twice in the *Quran* by name. *Ibid*, s.v.
37. "The breath of Madar", a particular ejaculation of this sect. See *infra*.
38. *Dabistan*, text, p. 214.
39. Very conflicting and legendary account of Shah Madar is available in the writings of oriental scholars. He is said to have lived for 383 years, even more, who owed his longevity to the power of keeping his breath. He is supposed by some to be still alive (whence his name Zinda Shah Madar). But Abdur Rahman Chishti, the reputed author of *Mirat-ul-Asrar* and *Aur-i-Chishtiya* in his *Mirat-i-Madari* (Life of Shah Madar), a work compiled with great labour and after much search, gives a very sober account of the saint. According to the author, Shah Madar belonged to a Jewish family of Halab (Aleppo), where he was born in AH. 715 (A.D. 1315). He died at Makanpur on Thursday, 18th Jamadi-ul-Awwal (now called te month of Madar), AH. 40 (A.D. 1436) at the age of 125 years. For further details see *Akhbar-ul-Akhiyar*, p. 19. J'affar Sharif, *Qanun-i-Islam*, pp. 195, 196, 29, 290. Rose's Glossary, II, 160 ff.
40. *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, text, pp. 40, 41. *Dabistan*, Shea and Troyer, II, 225, 226. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Jarret, III, 370.
41. Compare Rose's Glossary, III, 44.
42. He is sometimes confounded with Shaikh Jalal Jahanian Jahangasht of Multan. See Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, pp. 193, 371.
43. *Dabistan*, text, p. 215, J'affar Sharif gives the following account of the Jalaliyan: "They (the Jalaliyan) wear a necklace of fine wool (*pashm*), or of threads of various colours, a neckband (*guluband*), and a small loin-cloth (*lung, langoti*), and carry a club (*sonta*). They have a scar on the right upper arm made by cautery with a lighted cloth match at initiation. They beg in bazars, and if they do not receive alms brand themselves with a match of this kind, while others gain their ends by noise and uproar. In the Punjab, their headquarters, they give little heed to prayer, smoke quantities of hemp, eat snakes and scorpions, shave their heads, moustaches, and eyebrows, leaving only a scalp-lock (*choti*) on the right side. They are branded with a special mark on the right shoulder, wear glass armlets, a woollen cord round their necks, a cloth on their heads, and are vagabonds with no fixed dwelling-place". *Qanun-i-Islam*, pp. 291, 292. Also see Rose's *Glossary*, I, 552, ff.; II, 350. *Census Report* Punjab, 1891, I, 195 ff.

44. *Dabistan*, text, p. 215. This was perhaps according to the practice of Ali to become a bride-groom every evening. Among the Hindus the disciples of Vallabhacharan sect are said to offer their wives after marriage to the *Guru* for this purpose, they being allowed to enjoy *"prasad"* only. When the author of the *Dabistan* asked one of the Jalalis: "Hamid Muhammad, your master, does he take the daughter of one of his disciples without marrying her?" He answered: "The Safavian kings take wives, daughters, and sons of their disciples, who are highly pleased with it, why should not Hamid Muhammad, who is truly the Khalif (substitute) of Ali, do the same?" He further adds: "This act is a sign of sovereignty, and a prerogative of the family of the Prophet." *Dabistan*, Shea and Troyer, II, 22.
45. The Be-qaid (the Emancipated, the Liberated), and the Benawa (without provisions, destitute) are treated in the *Dabistan* as one sect. But later on they branched off into two separate sects; one is called Benawa and the other Azad. Benawa is one of the most prominent of the *Be-Shara* or unorthodox orders of Islam, and are said to be the followers of Khwaja Hasan Basri. The term is sometimes apparently applied in a loose manner to Qadiri and Chishti *faqirs*. Azad, "free", are also called *majzub* as opposed to *Salik*. Azads hold that the *Shara* or ritual law is only for the masses, not for those who have attained *m'arifat* or full comprehension of the Godhead. *See* Rose's *Glossary*, II, 80, 52, *Qanun-i-Islam*, pp. 16, 289, 295.
46. For an account of this sect See *Dabistan*, text, p. 216. Manucci mentions: ". . .in the Mogul kingdom there are different kinds of poor, otherwise called-*faquires (faqirs)*, who ask alms. The more important among these are the bequedes *(Beqaids)*—that is to say, 'liberated'; while other are *beters* (be-tars)—that is to say 'fearless'. "The first are very rude in manner, using great liberty in speech, fearing no one and paying no one respect, whatever his rank, using much abusive language and scandalous words, or polite sayings, just as it pleases them. These men often enter boldly into the houses of great men, and if the door-keepers stop them from going in, they apply to the whole family much abusive language, sparing neither master nor mistress, nor sons, nor grand-children, nor ancestors, coupling their names with the coarsest abuse. In spite of this the people of the house show no anger, but secure their departure by soft words, giving them some alms and begging their pardon. If the *faqirs* are allowed entrance they march straight to where the master is and seat themselves close to him, although dirty, their feet all over mud, and clad in filthy rags. Without any

deference or civility of speech, they take the tobacco-pipe out of the master's mouth and place it in their own. With much respect the master returns thanks for this honour, and secures the man's departure by some money. They are so contumacious and insolent that sometimes they are not satisfied with what they get, and it is necessary to give them all thing demanded. Never do they beg you to give for the love of God, imagining that they would anger God by asking alms in His name, alms being such a petty thing in comparison with the greatness of God. Everyone tries to find a means of satisfying them without showing any hesitation, for fear of some curse.

"The *beters* (be-tars) are *faqirs* who ask for alms with a sharp knife in their hand. They place themselves in front of a shop, and begin to shout for alms to be given them, pointing at what they want. When the shop-keeper refuses to give a man what he asks for, he wounds himself on the arms or on the head or on the legs, and, taking the blood, throws it into the shop as a sign of his curse. Ordinarily these *faqirs* ask for alms at the shop of the *baniyas*, who are very timid, and rather than see such wounds, give them what they ask, usually some money". Vol. I, 145, 146.

47. Perhaps he belonged to the Kak tribe of Kashmir who were staunch Shias. See *Akbarnama*, Beveridge, III, 763 and *note*, 1250.
48. *Sirat*, literally "A road". In Muslim traditions and other writings the term is used for the *bridge* across the infernal fire, which is described as finer than a hair and sharper than a sword, and is beset on each side with briars and hooked thorns. The righteous will pass over it with the swiftness of lightning, but the wicked will soon miss their footing and will fall into the fire of hell. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 595.
49. *Dabistan*, text, p. 216. Shea and Troyer, II, 229, 230.
50. *Panthi* is derived from the Sanskrit *"Panthin,"* "who goes the road."
51. Perhaps he is Shaikh Piyara of Bengal who received training under Shaikh Salim Chishti. According to Badauni he was "a man distracted with the grief of longing after God". He was very famous in Bengal. *See* Badauni, Haig, III, 21.
52. This was exactly the practice of begging by the Buddhist *bhikshus* as enjoined by their rules of conduct (*sil*).
53. *Dabistan*, text, p. 218.
54. *Ibid*, Shea and Troyer, II, 232.

13

The Parsi Religion

Observant European travellers when they first arrive at Bombay cannot fail to be struck with the interesting contrasts which everywhere meet the eye. Perhaps the most remarkable of such contrasts is that afforded by the different methods adopted by the adherents of different creeds for the disposal of their dead.

There in Bombay one may see, within a short distance of each other, the Christian cemetery, the Muhammadan grave-yard, the Hindu burning-ground, and the Parsi Dakhmas, or Towers of Silence. The latter, five in number, with a sixth—which is square instead of circular—used for criminals, are, as most Anglo-Indians know, at the summit of Malabar Hill, in a beautiful garden, amid tropical trees swarming with vultures. I obtained leave to visit these towers in the autumn of 1875, and again shortly after my second arrival in India last year.

A correct model of the principal tower was then kindly presented to me by order of Sir Jamsetji Jijibhai, and a careful examination of its structure enables me to describe its dimensions with accuracy. Towers they have certainly no right to be called, for their height is out of all proportion to their diameter. The chief tower may be described as an up-right cylindrical stone structure, in shape and solidity not unlike a gigantic millstone, about fourteen feet high and ninety feet in diameter, resting on the ground in the centre of the garden. It is built

throughout of solid granite, except in the centre, where a well, ten feet deep and about fifteen across, leads down to an excavation under the masonry, containing four drains at right angles to each other, forminated by holes filled with charcoal. Round the upper and outer edge of this solid cylinder, and completely hiding the interior surface from view, is a high stone parapet. This is constructed so as to seem to form one piece with the solid stone work, and being, like it, covered with chunatu, gives the whole erection, when viewed from the outside, the appearance of a low tower. Clearly one great object aimed at by the Parsis in the construction of these strange depositories of their dead is solidity. We saw two or three enormous massive stones lying on the ground, which had been rejected by the builders simply because they contained almost invisible veins of quartz, through which it was possible that impare particles might find their way, and be carried, in the course of centuries, by percolating moisture, into the soil. Earth, water, and fire are, according to Zoroaster, sacred symbols of the wisdom, goodness, and omnipotence of the Deity, and ought never, under any circumstances, to be defiled. Especially ought every effort to be made to protect Mother Earth from the pollution which would result if putrefying corpses were allowed to accumulate in the ground. (*Vandidad* iii, 27.) Hence the disciples of Zoroaster spare neither trouble nor expense in erecting solid and impenetrable stone platforms fourteen feet thick for the reception of their dead. The cost of erection is greatly increased by the circumstance that the towers ought always to be placed on high hills, or in the highest situations available, (*Vand,* vi. 93). I was informed by the Secretary that the largest of the five towers was constructed at an outlay of three lakhs of rupees.

The upper surface of the massive granite column is divided into compartments by narrow grooved ridges of stone, radiating like the spokes of a wheel from the central well. These stone ridges form the sides of seventy-two shallow open receptacles or coffins, arranged in three concentric rings. The ridges are grooved—that is, they have narrow channels running down their whole length, which channels are connected by side ducts with the open coffins, so as to convey all moisture to the central well and into the lower drains. The number three is emblematical of Zoroaster's three moral precepts, 'Good thoughts, good

words, and good deeds,' (*Vand*, v. 67), and the seventy-two open stone receptacles represent the seventy-two chapters of his *Yasna*, a portion of the *Zand-Avasta*.

Each concentric circle of open stone coffins has a pathway surrounding it, the object of which is to make each receptacle accessible to the corpse-bearers. Hence there are three concentric circular pathways, the outermost of which is immediately below the parapet, and these three pathways are crossed by another conducting from the solitary door which admits the corpse-bearers from the exterior, and which must face the east, to catch the rays of the rising sun. In the outermost circle of the stone coffins, which stands for 'good deeds,' are placed the bodies of males; in the middle, symbolizing 'good words,' those of females; in the inner and smallest circle, nearest the well, representing 'good thoughts,' those of children. Each tower is consecrated with solemn religious ceremonies, and after its consecration no one, except the corpse-bearers—not even a high-priest—is allowed to enter.

On the occasion of my second visit I was accompanied, as before, by the courteous Secretary of the Parsi Panchayat, and was permitted to witness the funeral of a Mobed, or one of the second order of priests, whose flowing white costumes (supposed to be emblematical of purity) are everywhere conspicuous in the Bombay streets. I may here mention parenthetically that I believe the word Mobed is merely a corruption of a Zand word equivalent to Sanskrit *Maga-pari*, 'chief of the Magians.' Dastur, the name of the high-priest, is a modern Persian word, the best equivalent for which would perhaps be 'chief ruler.' The lowest order of priests, named Herbad, are little better than menials, and are not allowed to officiate at ceremonies. In the *Zand-Avasta* the whole priestly class are called Athravan (in Pazand Athornan). In the present day the rest of the community—the laymen in fact, who are neither Dasturs nor Mobeds nor Herbads—are styled Behadin or Behdin, that is, 'followers of the best religion'.

I reached the garden surrounding the towers about half an hour before sunset. At that time the funeral procession was already winding-up the hill. The deceased man had died early in the morning, and a rule of the Parsi religion requires that no corpse shall be exposed on the platform of the towers, to be

consumed by birds of prey, unless the rays of the sun can first fall on it. Foremost in the procession walked a man carrying a loaf or two of bread wrapped up in a cloth. Then came the bier, which was fiat and made of iron bars, having the body of the deceased stretched out upon it, covered only with a white sheet, and borne by four bearers, followed by two assistants. These corpse-bearers are called *Nasasalar*. They are, of course, Parsis, but from the nature of their occupation are supposed to contract impurity, and are not associated with by the rest of the community. They are, however, well cared for and well paid.

After the bearers, at an interval of a few yards, followed a man leading a white dog, and behind him a long procession of at least a hundred priests in their long robes of spotless white, besides relations of the deceased, also in white garments, walking in pairs, each couple following closely on the other, and each man connected with his fellow by a handkerchief held between them in token of sympathy and fellow-feeling. The procession advanced to a point about thirty yards distant from the portal of the largest tower. There it stood still for a minute while the dog was brought towards the corpse, made to look at the features of the dead man, and then fed with bread. This part of the dead man, and then fed with bread. This part of the ceremony is called *sag-did*. Meanwhile all who followed the bier turned round, and walked back to the *sagri*, or house of prayer containing a fire-sanctuary, which is erected near the entrance to the garden. There they chanted prayers while the corpse-bearers entered the tower with the dead body, and exposed it naked in one of the receptacles on the stone platform. Their appointed task being then completed, they instantly quitted the tower, and were seen to repair to a reservoir of water near at hand, where they went through a process of thorough ablution, changing all their clothes, and depositing the cast-off garments in an open stone pit, almost hidden from view, on one side of the garden.

It is noteworthy that the fire-sanctuary of the *sagri* has a window or aperture so arranged that when the sacred fire is fed with sandal wood fuel by the vailed priest, just before the corpse-bearers enter the tower, a ray from the flame may be projected over the dead body at the moment of its exposure. The theory is that the light of the sun and the light of the sacred fire ought to consecrate the mortal remains of the deceased before

they are consumed by the birds. There is, at any rate, some poetical if not true religious sentiment in this hypothesis, and the bereaved relations appear to derive consolation from it; but whether the position of the sun and fire made this double consecration possible is doubtful. To us spectators on the occasion I am recording, it was evident that a beam from the setting sun and a ray from the sacred fire had barely opportunity to fall on the corpse at all; for scarcely had the bearers left the tower and closed the portal ere forty or fifty vultures, before seated motionless on the stone parapet, swooped down on their prey. In ten minutes they all flew stick again—they had finished their work. The body was reduced to a skeleton before the mourners in the *sagri* had finished their prayers. It should be mentioned that in three or four weeks after the funeral the bones are removed from the open coffin and reverently placed in the central well, where the dust of the dead, whether of high or low degree, is left to commingle undisturbed for centuries.

When I inquired about the meaning of the dog, I was told that, according to the teaching of Zoroaster, dogs as well as birds are regarded as sacred animals, and were formerly allowed to consume the dead bodies of Parsis. In the present day a representative dog kept for the purpose accompanies the corpse, and is fed with bread as a substitute for the flesh of the dead body. Moreover, dogs are supposed to possess some mysterious power in preserving the spirits of men from the attacks of demons; and if the funeral dog is not fed, and made to look at the corpse, the soul of the deceased will assuredly be assailed by evil spirits during the three days which intervene between death and judgment.

I should state here that in the belief of the Parsis the soul of the deceased man is supposed to hover about in a restless state for the three days immediately succeeding death, in the neighbourhood of the Dakhmas, where also swarms of evil spirits congregate. On the morning of the fourth day the soul is taken to judgment, which is passed on it by Mithra and the angels. It has then to pass a narrow bridge called *Chinvat-peretum*, 'the bridge where decision is pronounced.' The souls of the sinful, being unable to pass this bridge, imagined to be sharp as a razor, fall into hell on endeavouring to cross over. The *Zand-Avasta* even gives the names of certain dogs believed to protect

the souls of men from the assaults of evil demons before crossing the bridge. The *Vandidad* (viii. 41, 42), moreover, states that the devil called Nasus is frightened away by a yellow dog with four eyes, and that such a dog is to be led along the road of a funeral procession three times.

It is on this account, as was explained to me by a learned Parsi, that the funeral dog is supposed to be four-eyed—that is to say, it is supposed to have two real eyes and two round spots like eyes, just above the actual eyes. I was told, too, that many yellowish-white dogs in India have this peculiarity, and that the Parsis try to procure such dogs, and keep them for their funeral processions. I observed nothing of the kind in the funeral dog on the occasion of the particular funeral I have here recorded; but it struck me (before I knew that the same idea had occurred to German scholars) that the singular practice of leading a white dog at the head of the procession points, to the common origin of the Parsi and Hindu religions; for in the latter system the god of death, Yama, has two four-eyed brindled watchdogs, children of Sarama, who guard the road to his abode, and whose favour and protection against evil spirits are invoked every day by pious Hindus when they perform the *kaka-ball*, or offering of rice to crows dogs, and animals at the end of the *vaisvadeva* ceremony before the midday meal. The *mantra* recited is as follows:—*Dvau svanau syama-sabalau Vaivasvata-kuoldbhavau tebhyam pindo maya datto rakshetam pathi mam sada*,—"May the two dogs, dark and brindled, born in the family of Yama, protect me ever on the road! To them I present an offering of food."

Having thus attempted to give some idea of the nature of a Parsi funeral, and of the unique arrangements by which the Parsis endeavour to carry out the precepts of their prophet Zoroaster in the disposal of their dead, it will not be inappropriate if I close this paper with a brief account of the initiatory ceremonies performed on admission of young Parsis to the Zoroastrian religion, and their incorporation as members of the Parsi society.

I may first mention that according to the pure form of the Zoroastrian faith—as propounded by learned Parsis of the present day-Ormazd (sometimes written Hormazd, contracted from the full expression Ahura Mazda) is the name of the Supreme Being, to whom there is no equal, and who has no

opponent. It is a mistake to suppose that Ormazd is opposed to a being called Ahriman, commonly regarded as the spirit of evil. The true doctrine is that Ormazd has created two forces in nature, not necessarily antagonistic, but simply alternating with each other—the one a force of creation, construction, and preservation; the other a force of decay, dissolution, and destruction. The first of these forces is named Spenta-mainyus, while the second or destructive power is commonly called Ahriman, or Hariman, for Anhramainyus (or *Anhro-mainyus*=Sanskrit *Anhomanyu*). It is interesting to observe the analogy between the Hindu and Zoroastrian systems, Vishnu and Rudra (Siva) in the former being equivalent to Spenta-mainyus and Anhra-mainyus in the latter, while Brahma (neuter) corresponds to Ormazd. In later times the purity of the original doctrine became corrupted, and Ahriman was personified as a spirit of evil. In fact, all the evils in the world, whether moral or physical, are now attributed to Ahriman, while Ormazd is erroneously held to be the antagonistic principle of good. It is contended, too, that the Parsi religion is properly pure Monotheism, in spite of its apparent dualism, and that the elements and all the phenomena of Nature are merely revered as creations of the one God, and symbolical of his power.

There can be little doubt, however, that with the majority of Parsis the elements are regarded as simple manifestations or omanations of the Deity, and that which is called Monotheism is really a kind of Pantheism very similar to that of Brahmanism. The absence of all image-worship, however, is very refreshing after the hideous idolatry of the Hindu system.

So much for the Parsi creed; and now for a few words as to the form of admission into the charmed circle of the Parsi community.

It is contraverted point whether if any outsider wished to become a Parsi it would be possible, even in theory, to entertain the question of his being admitted to membership by his making public confession of his faith in the Zoroastrian system. As a matter of fact no one is at present allowed to become a Parsi unless he is born a Parsi. No provision seems to exist for the reception of converts, and the only form of admission is for the children of Parsis though occasionally the children of non-Parsi, mothers by Parsi fathers are permitted to become members of

now rushing up from the ground. In two Anglican dioceses the movement is very great, that in Tinevelly and Dornakal; among the other Churches the Press is equally insistent, and from it all comes the great movement for union which will be outlined. The Bishop of Dornakal, the Rt. Rev. V.S. Azariah, is himself an Indian, and leading the movement in his own diocese and in India even as Ramanuja moved, and Gautama taught. The movement among the outcaste and touchable is not confined to Southern India, and is at work in many parts, notably along the frontiers. The uplift in everyday life, in behaviour, in the avoidance of spirit drinking, and the like and the consequent prosperity of the people is remarkable. Hinduism never cared how its Sudras lived and fared, but when a man realizes that Christianity means a special position in this world and the next, and that he is of moral and human importance, then must he act and live accordingly, or so it seems to the Sudra converts. It is but the natural human instinct to be better than the beast, stifled under the contempt of the twice-born. To use the missionary phrase, the 'castemen' watch and those who think approve. In the south, indeed, an appreciable number have become Christians in the last few years. But when a thinking man can have recourse to *Bhakti* teaching, and all the other fine traditions of Hindu reforming sects, or the modern teaching of Islam, the urge of Christianity is not so imperative. All over the land, high caste men do become earnest Christians but the harvest is not yet. On the North-west Frontier, where all are Moslems, it is the medical mission, with its message of mercy among a ruthless folk, that arrests attention, but, again, the harvest is not yet. Exceptions and instances there are many, but among many millions they are trivial, and have no resemblance to what is in progress in the Dravidian lands. In the Punjab itself some remarkable work has been done as related among 'untouchable' and vagrant tribes by the Salvation Army and the Franciscan friars, as well as the Anglican Mission. Prosperous, self-respecting villages have sprung up and crime has disappeared.

The trouble to come may lie in the act that the movement may unavoidably mark the difference between high caste and outcaste, especially now that the untouchables protest so earnestly against Brahmin dominion, and therefore assume a political aspect. That the poor and oppressed should come is so

desirable, but that it should unwittingly grow to a movement among Sudras alone will be a tragedy, humanely speaking. That, however, may safely rest with the 'Everlasting Arms,' and man can but endeavour to guide his part of the machine rightly, nowhere better prescribed than in the 'Noble Eight-fold Path.'

For many years, however, the tragedy of the Christian 'dispersion' has been evident, not only in India but all over the world's Mission field. The missionary work in India has been actively pressed by the various Free Churches as well as by Anglicans and the Church of Rome. There is room in Eastern sentiment for two great branches of the Catholic Church, but not for a dozen lesser ones. Overlap and mystification was bound to arise. Those baptized into one of the Protestant Churches, who had any and education and status, found themselves demanding that the various little Churches, which, through reasons social and political as much as religious, had arisen in the West, once the bonds of allegiance to Rome had been loosed, should not be perpetuated in India. It was absurd, they felt, that Wesleyans, Anglicans, Baptists, Presbyterians, Lutherans, etc., should all be working the same field with different tools. The result has been after several years of an amicable *modus vivendi* that the definite movement for union has become practically a *fait accompli*. Those who are familiar with Church matters know the story well enough as explained to the Lambeth Conference. But in very simple words, by a self-denial and accommodation, which human nature and understanding being what it is has been very real, a united, modified autocephalic Episcopal Church will arise in South India which will embrace practically all 'Protestant' bodies using that word to mean Churches not in union with Rome. How the tactic difficulties, religious, human and goodwill of such a union has been overcome and arranged by those leaders in the movement, Bishop Palmer of Bombay, Bishop Whitehead formerly of Madras, and many another, is a fascinating story of itself. Suffice it to say that at any rate in South India there will be generally but two great authorities of Christianity, the Church of Rome and the Episcopal Church of India.

It is not out of place in this connexion to refer to the Anglican Church in India in its ordinary as well as its missionary work. The great Continent, till recently a province of Canterbury

but now auto-cephalic, is divided into dioceses. Its normal parish duties, as distinct from what might be called the 'Chaplaincy' of the officers and men of the British Forces, is very largely the educational and congregational care of the large domiciled community, both British born, Indian born and of British or mixed parentage. The number of such is considerable, for whom such matters as diocesan schools, orphanages and the like are by no means trivial. In the cities up-country, the European and Anglo-Indian business community furnish a considerable congregation and need for ministry, chiefly to the Anglican and Roman Church, and in a lesser degree to the Free Churches. The Church of Rome with its dioceses, its convents and its schools, is also spread over the land with plenty to do. Christianity is therefore very much part of the warp and weft of India, while to a continent which has absorbed so many millions of Turks, Tartars and Afghans, there is no question of the British being an alien race. The cathedrals and the churches in the military cantonments, some stately edifices, some otherwise, and the lesser chapels of the smaller communities, stand not unworthily in this country of mosque and temple, as evidences that Christianity is something more than a phrase.

Should the quest for Christianity come suddenly among the caste-folk, as some think it may, in the destruction that modernism threatens to fantastic creeds, there is a reasonably geared machine to receive it, capable of incorporating the immense movement that will be necessary.

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